ROMAN HISTORY

FROM THE

FOUNDATION OF ROME

TO THE

BATTLE of ACTIUM:

THAT IS,

To the End of the COMMONWEALTH.

VOL. XV.

By Mr CREVIER, Professor of Rhetorick in the College of Beauvais, being the Continuation of Mr ROLLIN's Work.

Translated from the FRENCH.

The SECOND EDITION.

Illustrated with Maps, and Copper Places

Printed for and P. KNAPTON, in Ludgate-Street.

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A LIST of the Consuls Names, and the YEARS comprehended in this Vo-

A. HIRTIUS.	A. R. 709.
C. VIBIUS PANSA.	Ant. C. 43.
M. ÆMILIUS LEPIDUS II.	A. R. 710.
L. MUNATIUS PLANCUS.	Ant. C. 42.
L. Antonius. P. Servilius Vatia Isauricus II.	A. R. 711. Ant. C. 41.
C. Domitius Calvinus II. C. Asinius Pollio.	A. R. 712. Ant. C. 40.
L. Marcius Censorinus.	A. R. 713.
C. Calvisius Sabinus.	Ant. C. 39.
A. CLAUDIUS PULCHER. C. NORBANUS FLACCUS.	A. R. 7141 Ant. C. 38.
M. AGRIPPA. L. CANIDIUS GALLUS.	A. R. 715. Ant. C. 37.
L. GELLIUS POPLICOLA.	A. R. 716.
M. Cocceius Nerva.	Ant. C. 36.
L. Cornificius. Sex. Pompeius.	A. R. 717. Ant. C. 35.
M. Antonius II. L. Scribonius Libo.	A. R. 718. Ant. C. 34
C. Julius Cæsar Octavianus II.	A. R. 719.
L. Volcatius Tullus.	Ant. C. 33.
Cn. Domitius Ahenobarbus.	A. R. 720.
C. Sosius.	Ant. C. 32.

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A. Hirtius. C. Virius Pansa.	so A	
M. Amilius Lapidus II. L. Munatius Plancus.	A R. 710	
L. ANTONIUS P. SERVILIUI VATIA ISAURICUSII, ASL.	er-12.A 13.3.8A	· 明 · · · · · · · · · · · · · · · · · ·
C. Domitius Calvinus II. C. Asinius Pollio.	A. R. 715 Am. C. 40	
L. MARCIUS CENSORINES. C. CALVISIUS SARINUS.	A R FIS	
A. CLAUDIUS PULCHER,	Ark. The	
M. Aceresa L. Camidius Galluge	A. E. 775 A.E. C. 37	
C Grluss Porticoria M. Coccessos News	Ark yes	
L. Corneriores.	ratio and	
	817 J.A.	
C. Jorius Casas Octavianus II. C. Volcarius Tolius	ery Maria	The state of the s
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AR. 709. A. HIRTIUS. Ant. C. 43. C. VIBIUS PANSA.

HE Confuls entered on their charge, The dispofition of the were both creatures of Cæfar. Panfa two Coneven owed his rife to him upon a parfuls, with ticular account: For being the fon of one regard to who was banished, it would not have been the flate of the Repubpossible for him to have arrived at these holick. nours, if Cæsar had not removed the obstacle which the laws of Sylla laid in his way. It feemed as if they were attached not only to



the fortune, but the person of their friend; for A. R. 709. they cherished his memory still after his death, Cic. Phil. as Cicero observes particularly of Hirtius; x. 16. and they were very zealous, especially the last, Cic. Phil. for the validity of the acts and decrees of the xiii. 26.

Dictator. Thus the Senate, which Antony called justly enough the camp of Pompey, had fufficient motives for distrusting the Consuls.

They, on the other hand, pretended to be good and faithful citizens. They shewed themselves friends to peace, good order, and the laws, fo far as to confent that the murder of Cæsar should remain unrevenged, rather than give occasion for a civil war. Especially as the indecent and tyrannical conduct of Antony, had made them revolt, and they were perfuaded of the necessity of bringing him to reason, and of restraining his outrages. By this method they acted agreeably to the fyftem of the Senate, the great object of which was the war against Antony, though they did not always proceed fo fast as the Senate would have wished, and particularly Cicero, whose ardour would neither fuffer obstacle nor delay.

On the ift of January, the Senate being af-The Senate, fembled, and the Confuls having proposed to contrary to deliberate on the situation of the Republick, the advice of Cicero advised them to act with all imaginable of Cicero, Cicero advised them to act with all imaginable of Cicero, orders a devigour. Fusius Calenus, who had been consul putation to some years before, father-in-law to Pansa, giv-Antony. ing his opinion first, had broached the advice Cic. Phil. of sending deputies from the Senate to Antony. Cicero resuted him with surprizing vehemence, supporting his opinion with very weighty reasons. He observed, that it would

discover

Meus dicipulus - - - tus noster sauciavit. Cic. ad valde amat shum quem Bru- Att. xiv. 22.

A. R. 709 discover a visible want of resolution in the conduct of the Senate, if, after having upon the 20th of December preceding, extolled those who had taken arms against Antony, they should in thirteen days time propose a negotiation with him. He thought they had reason to apprehend that by this weak conduct, they would intimidate the foldiers and people of Italy, who ardently espoused the publick cause. In short, he foretold that the deputation would be unsuccessful. " " If you order, " fays he to the fenators, your deputies to be-" feech Antony, he will despise you. If, on the other hand, you pretend to give him " orders, he will not hearken to you." Cicero concluded then, that the best way was to push the war with the utmost vigour, and for that end to give full power to the Confuls, ftrengthening them with the authority of the famous decree of the Senate, to which they had recourse upon the most pressing occasions; that is to fay, by ordering them to take care that the Republick should suffer no harm. These two contrary opinions divided the Senate, and the debate lasted three days. At last Fufius gained his point, and the deputies were named, all persons of consular dignity; to wit, the famous Councellor Servius Sulpicius Piso, father-in-law to Cæsar, and Philip, husband to Attia mother of Octavius. But in the mean time it was refolved that they should continue briskly all the necessary preparations for war. And actually Hirtius, though not well recovered from a difease he had lately la-

boured under, fet out a few days after at the

[·] Legatos decernitis: si si ut imperetis non audiet. ut deprecentur, contemnet; Cic. Phil. v. 25.

head of a body of troops to go and join young A. R. 709. Cæfar, who had already commenced hoftili-Ant. C. 43. ties against Antony, and had taken from him

his elephants and fome cavalry.

Another thing deliberated upon by the Con- Octavius is fuls in the Senate, the 1st of January, con-invested formable to a decree of the 20th of December with the preceding, was, the rewards which were pro- authority of per to be given to generals and foldiers, who Pro-prahad declared in favour of the Republick a- tor. gainst Antony. This affair was very delicate. with regard to Octavius, whom the Senate neither cared to disoblige, nor to recompence; because, on the one hand they had need of him, and, on the other, it was dangerous to nourish his ambition and too elevated hopes. Cicero was quite determined in the affair, and advised them to invest him with the title of Pro-prætor, to make him a Senator, and to grant him the privilege of demanding offices feveral years before the age prescribed by the laws. All this paffed, and, at the defire of Philip, the honour of a statue was added.

What was most fingular in Cicero's harangue Cicero beon this subject was, that he undertook to dif- come surety fipate the alarms, which were too well found-for him to ed, of those who were apprehensive that the the Senate. fon of Cæfar would follow his father's footsteps. He extolled the attachment of Octavius to the Senate; he affirmed that Brutus

and Cassius had nothing to fear from that quarter, and that he had facrificed to the Republick all his particular refentments. He went even fo far as to become furety for him to the Senate a. " I promise, said he, I assure you,

· Permitto, recipio, spon- lis hodie sit, qualemque eum! deo, P. C. C. Cæsarem ta- maximè esse velle & optare lem semper fore civem qua- debemus. Cic. Phil. v. 51. B 3 " len-

A. R. 709 "I engage to you, that Octavius will always Ant. C. 43. " act as a good citizen, as he does now, and "that he will follow the best maxims that we "could wish." But he promised a thing that no ways depended upon himself, and the event, as is well known, proved that he was too forward. He thought himself, however, obliged to speak after this manner, in order to esta-

vius, which he imagined to be necessary for the good of affairs.

The Senate, at the same time that they heaped honours on young Cæsar, ratified their promises made to the troops, engaging to give them, after the victory, money, settlements, and exemption from military duty, both them and their children.

blish a confidence between the Senate and Octa-

I make no mention of the encomiums and testimonies of approbation and esteem lavished

upon Decimus; the thing speaks itself.

A statue decreed to Lepidus.

But the Senate laid hold of the opportunity of trying to fix the inconstancy of Lepidus, who had not yet declared himself. He was father-in-law to Brutus, which should have inclined him to the part of the Republick. On the other hand, his vanity, or foolish ambition, was but too capable to determine him, as it afterwards happened, to join with Antony in oppressing their liberty. They obliged him, therefore, by decreeing him the honour of a gilded statue, which was to be placed upon the Orators Tribunal, or whatever part of the City he should make choice of. All this was done on a very extraordinary, and frivolous pretext, excepting only one article, which was really agreeable to the Senate, I mean the fervice which Lépidus had rendered to Sextus Pompeius,

Pompeius, in order to restore him to his A. R. 709. mount of picture of their

rights.

wantout "

Though the partizans of Antony had pro- Infiructions cured a fixth decree of the Senate for a depu- given to the tation, yet they were not capable to draw up deputies of the influctions with which the deputies were the Senate. the inftructions with which the deputies were to be charged. They were very fevere, and Cic. Phil. carried an injunction to Antony, to forbear vimolefting Decimus Brutus, the Conful elect; to raife the fiege of Modena; to make no devastation in the province; to retire on this side the Rubicon, provided he did not approach nearer Rome than 200 miles *; not to inlift any foldiers; and, in short, to refer his interest and pretensions to the determination of the Senate and People of Rome. Cicero, in giving an account of these instructions says, very justly, That they were not so properly propositions of peace, as express orders to a rebel. He foretold at the fame time, in a very positive manner, that Antony would not obey them; and his prediction was verified to a tittle barancos sot awob

Ser. Sulpitius, the best of the three deputies Sulpitius, from the Senate, died upon arriving at An- one of the tony's camp. He was ill before his departure deputies, from Rome, and it was only out of pure com- arrival at plaifance to the Senate, of which he was one Antony's of the chief ornaments, that he accepted a camp. commission which must endanger his life.

Cic. Phil.

Of the two remaining deputies, Pifo and The bad Philip, one was a friend to Antony, and the success of other a man of a foft character. By this means the deputathey acquitted themselves of their charge like tion. men who were not very zealous in the cause.

* More than 66 leagues.

A. R. 709. contenting themselves with transmitting their Ant. C. 43 orders in writing to Antony.

viii. 20.

Appian Dio.

Cic. Phil. Antony had fo little regard to this deputation, that he caused the walls of Modena to be immediately demolished, in presence of the deputies. He expressed himself very bitterly against Cicero, whom he alledged to be the author of the instructions, at which he was very much offended. He complained of the Senate, which used him ill in favour of her child (for so he called Octavius). He declared that Dec. Brutus should pay for all the rest of Cæfar's murderers; so that the death of that great man might not remain unexpiated, at least by one victim. He did not allow the deputies to enter Modena according to their orders, to confer with Decimus. In fine, his answer was very haughty, and burthened with demands which he was well affured they would never grant. It was as follows, and began in Cie. Phil. a modest enough manner. "I renounce the

Viil.

" government which was given me by the " people; I lay down the command of the " army; I by no means refuse to become pri-" vate again; I forget every thing, and am " reconciled with all the world." But he adds intolerable conditions: "I demand that " you grant to my fix legions, and to my ca-" valry, and troops of guards, all the spoil " they have made, and the estates they are " fettled in; that those to whom I have given " lands, in concert with Dolabella, may re-" main in possession of them; that whatever " decrees my collegue and I have made with " regard to ourselves, following the memoirs " of Cæsar for a pattern, shall remain in "their full force; that no account of the

" money

MAKE.

"money which was in the temple of Ops, A. R. 709. If thall be demanded of me; that a pardon Ant. C. 43. " shall be granted to all who are with me, for " whatever they may have done against the " law." In short, he did not propose to quit his pretensions to Decimus's government without being very well recompensed for it. " I give up, faid he, the government of Cif-" alpine Gaul; but I demand that of the "Gauls lately conquered by Cæfar, together with fix legions which shall be recruited out " of the army of D. Brutus; and I shall en-" joy this government as long as M. Brutus " and C. Cassius shall keep the governments of provinces, whether during their Conful-" fhip, or in quality of Pro-confuls." One may easily observe, that the future Consulship of Brutus and Cassius was a contrivance of Antony's, to give jealoufy to Octavius, and to make him fensible, that in case of necessity, he might be reconciled to him.

Piso and Philip were so little interested in Atumultis the cause with which they were charged, that declared by they reported the answer of Antony to the Se-the Senate. nate themselves, which might indeed pass for a declaration of war. Cicero put this interpretation upon it, and he proposed that a Roman, who in a Roman Colony befieged a Conful, appointed General of the Romans. should be declared an enemy to the publick. Antony had still friends enough in the Senate to ward off this blow. A tumult was declared, which was only a fofter word substituted for that of war. As for the rest, all the orders

Autori L

^{*} This money amounted to where; that is, near five seven hundred thousand Sester- million and a half Sterling. tices, as bas been said else-

A. R. 709 were given, and they acted in every respect, as in a real war, and even a dangerous one. They continued to raise both men and money. Arms of all kinds were prepared; and all the citizens were ordered, instead of the Toga, to wear the military Garb, as in the time of the greatest danger. Every thing wore the appearance of war, though at the same time they Cic. Phil. would not admit the name. Cicero's zeal was xxxii. fo ardent, that he would not make use of the privilege annexed to the confular dignity of wearing the robe of peace on such emergencies. He put on, with the other citizens, the war-

peace.

A fatue decreed to Sulpitius. Cic. Phil. ix.

With the same design he supported strongly the proposal made by the Consul Pansa, to honour the memory of Ser. Sulpitius, who had died in the character of Deputy from the Senate, and during the time that he was employed in that office. Cicero judged, very justly, that the honours decreed to Sulpitius would be a stain upon Antony; and that the fame monument which preserved the remembrance of the deputy of the Senate, would bring to mind the haughtiness with which Antony had rejected the deputation. He voted, therefore, to erect a statue to Sulpitius, and his advice was followed, as appears by the testimony

like habit, to animate them by his example, to exclude all hope, and every proposition of

Pomp. de of the lawyer Pomponius, who assures us that Aurig. this statue remained in his time.

Juris. Cicero, in the mean time, could not hinder A new de them from renewing propolitions for a reconputationor- ciliation. Antony had always some friends at dered to An- Rome. A little while before two Prætors, one tony, by the of which was Ventidius, who rendered himself

fa

fo famous afterwards; one Tribune, and two A. R. 709. designed Tribunes, had left the city to join Antony, or to be of fervice to him in other Cie. Phil. parts of Italy. Calenus, who remained at xii. Rome, was not less useful to him, and it was by their reprefentations and those of Pifo, that the Senate deliberated anew upon the means of terminating the quarrel, rather by treaty than by force of arms. Panfa supported them, and a new deputation was decreed, composed of persons of consular dignity; in the number of which was Cicero himfelf. He durft not Cicero. at first venture to oppose it, but in the next whom they affembly of the Senate he laid open, in an ora-bad put in the number tion, which is his twelfth Philippic, the invin-of the depucible reasons which obliged him to decline a ties, excuses commission of that nature. It is certain that bimself, Cicero's passion could by no means be agree- and thus able to Antony; and that it was only an illu-affair afion to think of negotiating a peace by means bortive. of his mediation. But further, he found fault with the resolution of the Senate, and undertook to prove that, confidering Antony's character, his injustice, violence, tyrannical spirit, and the train of abandoned men he had about him, they could not hope to terminate the affair by an accommodation; and that they must either overcome or perish. Cicero having thus excused himself from going, the other Deputies remained likewise at Rome, and the resolution of the Senate had no effect. A little time afterwards the Conful Panía, having finished his business in the city, went to put himself at the head of the troops, levied by his orders, to make war against Antony, conjointly with his Collegue and young Cæfar.

to exbort them to it.

Dio.

to the self We

A. R. 709. Cicero had still another attack to encounter Ant, C. 43 in the Senate, on account of a letter from Le-Lepidus pidus, which exhorted them to peace. The writes to representations of Lepidus made the stronger the Senate impression, from his having the command of a powerful army, and their having very good peace. Ci reason to distrust his attachment to the Repubcero opposes lick. Fluctuating and irresolute as the Senate was, Lepidus kept in with it, and at the fame time was in a good understanding with Antony. He even fent him supplies, but with a fingular precaution, for he gave no orders to the general officer who commanded them, nor did he inform him which of the two parties BY STREET he was to join. This officer, whose name was Silanus, put a proper construction on the intention of the general, and marched his troops into Antony's Camp. Whether it was that this had not happened at the time that Lepidus wrote to the Senate, or that Cicero chofe to connive at the diffimulation of that artful man, he avoided, upon refuting him in his thirteenth Philippic, to discover any discontent against him; nay, he even goes so far as to praise him. But he persists firmly in his opinion of the impossibility of a peace. " What " peace, says he, can you have with Antony? " while there is no punishment inflicted upon " that wretch which can satisfy the just ven-" geance of the Romans."

Antony's letter to Hirtius and Octavius.

Ciccro

His zeal, which was always violent, was animated by a letter of Antony's, in which he faw himself personally attacked, in two different places. This letter, which was wrote

[·] Cum hoc pax esse quæ posse populus Romanus, Cie. potest? cujus ne supplicio Phil. xiii. 21. quidem ullo fatiari videtur

by Antony to Hirtius and Octavius, before A. R. 709. Pansa was arrived at the camp, had been sent Ant. C. 43. by Hirtius to Cicero. It is inferted at full length in the xiiith Philippic: I shall here translate the greatest part of it, because it is the most considerable specimen remaining of Antony's writings; and, besides, it is very artfully turned to fow divisions among the partizans of Cæsar and Pompey, which were united against him. . It begins thus: " The death " of Trebonius, when I heard of it, gave me " no less grief than joy. There is, doubtless, " very good reason to rejoice, that that wretch " hath fatisfied, by his death, the manes of " that great man, whose life he had conspired " against; and that the providence of the " gods has manifested itself before the end of "the year, by the punishment which one of " the parricides has already undergone, and " which threatens another of them. But that "Dolabella should have been declared an ene-" my to the publick for having killed an af-" fassine, and that the son of a bustoon ('tis "Trebonius, whom he marks out by this fcur-" rilous epithet) should appear dearer to the

Cognitâ morte Trebonii, non plus gavisus sum, quàm dolui. Dedisse pænas sceleratum cineri atque ossibus clarissimi viri, & apparuisse numen Deorum intra sinem anni vertentis, aut jam soluto supplicio parricidii, aut impendente, lætandum est. Hostem judicatum hoc tempore Dolabellam, eò quod sicarium occiderit, & videri cariorem populo Romano silium scurra quàm C.

Cæsarem, patriæ parentem, ingemiscendum est. Acerbissimum verò est, te, A. Hirti, ornatum beneficiis Cæsaris, & talem ab eo relictum, qualem ipse miraris, & te, ô puer, qui omnia ejus nomini debes, id agere ut jure damnatus sit Dolabella, ut venesica hæc liberetur ab obsidione, ut quam potentissimus sit Cassius atque Brutus.

Romans

A. R. 709. " Romans than Cæfar, the father of his coun-Ant. C. 43. st try, is, indeed, a subject greatly to be la-" mented. But the most affecting circum-" flance is, that you, Hirrius, whom Cæfar " loaded with favours, and raised to a de-" gree of fortune, which is even furprizing " to yourfelf; and that you, likewife, young " Octavius, who owe every thing to his name, " that both of you should use your influence to make the condemnation pronounced a-" gainst Dolabella appear lawful, and be put " in execution; and that that deceitful man " (meaning Decimus) whom I now keep thut " up in Modena, should be delivered from " the fiege; and that Caffius and Brutus " should acquire a formidable power."

Antony proved what he advanced, by enumerating all the false measures which he alledged had been taken by Hirtius and Octavius, against the interest of their party. The first that he mentions is, their having made choice of Cicero, one of the vanquished, for their Councellor and Chief; and he ends the whole detail of their conduct with this exclamation. "What could Pompey himself do more, was he to return to life; or his son,

" if he was at Rome?"

He adds: "You belt me that I must not hope for peace, if I do not suffer Decimus" to go out of Modena; or, if I do not surinish him with provisions. Is this the request of those veterans whom you have pre-

· Victum Ciceronem ducem habuistis. hoc placeme veteranis istis? quibus adhuc omnia integra funt: quoniam vos assentationibus & venenatis muneribus venissis.

" vailed

Negatis pacem fieri poffe, nifi aut emisero Brutum, aut frumento juvero. Quid?

" vailed upon, and who, nevertheless, are still A. R. 709-" undetermined? As for you, you have en-Ant. C. 43.

" tered into engagements; you have fold your" felves; and the flatteries you have liftened

"to, together with the poisoned presents which you have received, leave you no lon-

" ger at liberty to draw back.

You tell me that there has been mention " made in the Senate for peace, but I do not " expect any reasonable, or moderate proposi-" tions from that quarter. It belongs more or properly to you to confider which is the best. of plan, and the most useful step to be taken; whether to revenge the death of Trebonius, " or that of Cælar. Whether we ought to " ruin one another in order to revive the cause of Pompey, which has been fo many times traversed and subdued, or whether we ought not to unite ourselves, in order to prevent " our becoming the sport of our common enemies, who will be equal gainers by the " ruin of either your forces or mine. Hither-" to fortune has spared herself this spectacle, and was not willing to fee two members of " the fame body, or two armies of the fame of party, fight against each other, at the instie gation of Cicero, who endeavours to fet " them together by the ears. Doubtless, he

Vos potius animadvertite utrum fit elegantius & partibus utilius, Trebonii mortem perfequi, an Cæfatis: & utrum fit æquius, concurrere nos quo facilitis revivificat Pompeianorum causa toties jugulata, an confentire, ne ludibrio simus inimicis; quibus utri nostrum

ceciderint, lucro futurum.
Quod spectaculum adhuc ipfa Fortuna vitavit, ne videret unius corporis duas acies, lanistà Cicerone, dimicantes: qui usque eo felix
est, ut indem ornamentia
deceperit vos, quibus deceptum Cæfarem gloriatus est.

" ought

A. R. 709. " ought to esteem himself very happy for hav-Ant. C. 43. 45 ing imposed upon you, by means of the

fame titles and honours by which he boafted

" to have imposed upon Cæsar."

Antony further positively assured them, that Lepidus and Plancus were both of his party, but in this he went too far, at least with regard to Plancus: However, it is scarce to be doubted but that he was on good terms with both of them.

Mean while his final refolution was this: If a the gods, fays he, favourable as I hope " to the justness of my intentions, grant me " happy fuccefs, life will be very pleasant and " agreeable to me. If it happens otherwise, I " enjoy, beforehand, with infinite fatisfaction, " the idea of the punishment which you must unavoidably meet with. For fince the par-" tizans of Pompey, though they are vanquished, carry their insolence so far, What will they do if they become conquerors? "I shall leave you to make an experiment of " this."

But not chusing to take leave of them in fuch harsh expressions, he adds an offer of a reconciliation: "Whatever injustice (fays he) " my friends have done me, I can still forget " what I have fuffered by it, provided they can " repent what they have done, and are ready to " join with me in avenging the death of Cæfar."

· Si me rectis fensibus euntem dii immortales, ut fpero, adjuverint, vivam libenter. Sin autem aliud me fatum manet, præcipio gaudia suppliciorum vestrorum. Namque fi victi Pompeiani tam insolentes sunt, victores

quales futuri fint, vos potiùs experiemini.

 Denique summa judicii mei spectat huc, ut meorum injurias ferre possim, si aut oblivisci velint ipsi fecisse, aut ulcisci parati fint una nobiscum Cæsaris mortem.

This

This letter furnished those to whom it was A. R. 709. directed with agreeable matter for reflection. It is uncertain what effect it produced on the mind of Hirtius, who died foon after. But as to Octavius, he made too good use of it, as

will appear in the sequel.

In the mean time it produced no visible change in the conduct of the three Chiefs, who supported the cause of the Senate. It feems that Hirtius and Panfa thought it necesfary to chaftife Antony, in order to oblige him to respect the orders of the Senate and the Laws: and that Octavius did not think that he could fecurely treat with him till he had first revenged that contempt he had shewn towards him, and made him fensible that he was not a child, but a man, quite ripe with regard to prudence, and very firm in the execution of what he had resolved. The winter alone hindered them from acting. Octavius was with his army at the Forum Cornelii, which is now called Imola: Hirtius occupied * Claterna in the same province: And Pansa, who remained at Rome during fome months at the beginning of the year, raifed troops by force. As for Antony, he continued to block up Decimus in Modena. And in this manner was the bad feafon for fighting occupied.

As foon as it was possible to take the field, Hirtius Hirtius and Octavius knowing that the fearcity and Octabecame very preffing in Modena, marched vius apwith a design to attempt the relieving it. Up- Modena. on the march they took possession of Bolog- Pigeons are na, which opened its gates to them. But when made use of they approached near the place befieged, to carry they found themselves stopped by a little river disparches.

. Quaderna.

called Dio.

VOL. XV.

Appian.

A. R. 709 called * Scultenna, the banks of which Antony had lined with troops. It was not possible for them to pass it: They only gave notice to Decimus of their arrival by fignals, but as he re-

Frontin. Stratag. iii. 13 &

turned no answer, they made use of a diver, who fwimming under water entered the town. and carried to the befieged the news of the fuccours, graved on a thin plate of lead, which Plin.x.37. they tied to his arm. They conveyed also Salt and other provisions into Modena, by the same way of the river. The besiegers having observed it made use of nets to catch them, which effectually hindered them from fending any more. But they found no method of ftopping a particular kind of couriers, which kept up a correspondence between the besieged and the army deftined for their relief. These were Pigeons, to the necks of which they fastened letters, and after having kept them thut up in a dark-place without meat for fome time, they let them fly. As foon as they found themfelves at liberty they directed their flight towards a place where they observed grain, which they had taken care to put upon the high-ground; and thus they carried and brought back feveral important advices.

Appian.

There was nothing elfe remarkable happened till the arrival of Pansa; excepting only that the Prætor Ventidius, whose leaving Rome I have before taken notice of, having advanced to join Antony with two legions which he had raised in Cæsar's colonies, was hindered by Hir-He therefore retired to Pitius and Octavius. cenum, where he raifed a third legion, waiting an opportunity of making use of his forces for the fervice of his friend and protector.

* Le Panaro.

The fourteenth of April Pansa was to ar-A.R. 709. rive at the camp of Hirtius, with four legions of new raised troops. At his approach both armies put themselves in motion. Hirtius detached the martial legion with his Guard or Pretorian Cohort, together with that of Octavius, in order to secure the march of his Collegue. Antony, to prevent their joining, marched from the camp himself, leaving his brother Lucius to command there in his absence; and took two of the best Legions, two Pretorian Cohorts, his own and that of Silanus, which had been sent him by Lepidus, as I before observed, besides some cavalry and light-armed troops, and posted himself near the Forum Gallerum, now called Castel France.

As foon as the martial Legion, which had A baitle in quitted the fervice of Antony to join young which Cæfar, perceived the troops of the contrary rounded. party, it was not possible to keep them within Cic. ad bounds. Hatred is never stronger than against Fam. x. those whom you have left, and by whom you 30. &. know you are looked upon as a rebel. Panfa Phil. xii. was obliged to follow the motion of this Legion, and to engage in a general action, almost in spite of himself. I shall not offer to enter upon a detail of this engagement, which was very bloody. The Pretorian Cohort of Cæfar was almost entirely cut to pieces. The martial Legion suffered likewise very much; and Pansa received two wounds, the second of which was fo confiderable, that he was obliged to leave the field of battle, and was carried to Bologna. The lofs was not much lefs on Antony's side; however, he had the advantage, for which he was particularly obliged to the cavalry, which was extremely good. But attemptA. R. 709 ing to cross the camp where the vanquished Ant. C. 43. were retreated, he met with a repulse.

Antony in returning to bis camp

Offavius. aubo was

guard the

camp, de-

fends it against Lu-

cius the

Antony.

brother of

left to

When he was returning, Hirtius, who upon the news of what had passed, was arrived with two Legions, met him in the very place where and defeat- the former battle was fought; and falling on ed by Hir- his troops, which were greatly fatigued, he easily defeated them. Thus the conquerors were either cut to pieces, or put to flight in Antony got back again to his their turn. camp, by the favour of the night, with the remains of his foldiers. Hirtius took two ftandards and fixty-fix colours from the enemy.

In his absence, his camp was attacked by L. Antonius. Octavius who was left there with a handful of men, made nevertheless a good defence; for having obliged the affailants to retire with lofs, he by this means became a sharer in the glory of the day, which tho' not at all decifive, yet, however, did honour to

the party of the Senate.

Antony afterwards reproached Octavius that Suet. Aug. he had fled on this occasion, and did not ap-10. pear again for two days after the battle, without his armour and his horse. But the testimony of an enemy is liable to exception. Octavius was praised in a letter of Hirtius, quoted by Cicero in full Senate, as having given proofs

Cic. Phil. of great courage. The account which I have given of the affair, is a faithful translation of xiv. 28. Cicero's words, in his xivth Philippic. But granting that account not to be literally just, yet I cannot persuade myself that it can be abfolutely false.

The advantage gained over Antony was ex-The Senate extolls pro-tolled beyond all measure. Cicero voted to digiously the ordain festivals for fifty days to render thanks:

A very

A very great honour, and respecting the num- A. R. 709. ber of days, exceeded every thing which had Ant. C. 43. passed before with regard to Pompey and Cae-advantage far. He advised, besides, that they should invest each of the three Chiefs with the title of Imperator, as if it had been for a glorious victory, and that a magnificent monument should be erected at the expence of the Republick, for all those who had been killed in the battle. This was a very judicious and laudable propofal, as it preserved to the fathers, mothers, wives, children, and brothers of the foldiers who were flain in defence of the publick Cause, those rewards which would have been given to

themselves had they survived.

Mean while, for all this pomp of con- A new gratulation and triumph, Decimus was not battle, delivered, and Antony still pressed the siege. where An-Hirtius and Octavius were forced to give An- are forced. tony battle again, and attack his intrenchments. Hirtius is They had penetrated a good way when Hirtius killed. was killed, fighting with great bravery. Oc- Appian. tavius being left alone, gave evident proofs of Dio. his good conduct and courage. He kept poffession of the enemy's camp for some time; but at last Antony, with redoubled effort, obliged them to retire. He made his retreat, how-Suet. Aug. ever, in good order, and it is reported of him, 10. that a standard-bearer having given him the standard when he was dying, he took it upon his shoulders, and with this honourable load, wounded and covered with blood, he returned glorious to his camp, having all the advantage on his fide; Decimus shared the honour with Cle. ad him, by a fally which he made during the en. Brut. I. 2. gagement. It is not at all to be doubted but?" Antony suffered greatly by this last action.

This

Ant. C. 43. Antony railes the fiege, and gains the Alps.

A. R. 709. This is confirmed by the resolution he took to raife the fiege, and gain the Alps as foon as possible. But the' he was overcome he had still some resource left. He trusted much to the friendship of Lepidus and Plancus, and he was fure of three Legions which Ventidius commanded in Picenum. His next business then was to put himself in a condition of receiving the fuccours of his friends, by means of which he hoped to become fooner more powerful and more formidable to his enemies than before.

Ostavius does not pur fue.

He would have found it difficult, however, to have received the advantage of these reinforcements, had Octavius pursued him without delay. This young, but artful politician, who was always steady in pursuing the interest of his ambition, purposely allowed his enemy time to retire. He was afraid of ferving too well the party in which he was engaged, being perfuaded, not without reason, that if he ruined Antony, the Senate would next endeavour to ruin himself.

The diffiravelling the intriques lowed the raising of the fiege of Modena.

Bid's

This whole intrigue is very difficult to be culty of un unravelled, for want of sufficient memoirs that might be depended on. Two things, however, are very certain; the one, that the Senate dewhich fol fired earnestly to re-establish the government of the Republick; the other, that Octavius wanted entirely to destroy it, and raise to himself, on the ruins of Liberty, a power refembling that of his great uncle. By an inevitable consequence of this contrariety of views, they mutually diffrusted one another, and the necessity alone of subduing Antony their common enemy, had re-united them. After Antony was reduced to retreat from before Modena,

dena, and was no more in a condition to give A. R. 7cg. umbrage to any of them, the division, which was only suspended between the two parties, was ready to break out. The Senate, believing that they had no longer need of Octavius, neglected him, and strove to mortify him. And Octavius made use of this pretext to break his engagements with the Senate, and to execute without referve that defign which he had always kept in view.

This is in general the truth of the affair, which no diffimulation could render obscure, because it was sufficiently evinced by facts. But that which has very much darkened all the accounts of these times is. That both parties strove to conceal their measures; and as Octavius at last became the Chief, under the title of Augustus, and even transmitted his power to his fucceffors; the historians under the first Cæfars, were permitted to give instances of the Senate's ingratitude, but by no means to expose Octavius. And how could it be expected that the common historians should dare to speak the truth, fince T. Livius himself, whom Au- Tac. Ann. gustus called a partizan of Pompey, mentions, iv. 34. as a true motive, (if the author of the Abridg-cxix. ment understood his meaning) what was only a pretence. And supposes that the unjust pro-ceedings of the Senate were the cause which determined Octavius to usurp the Consulship.

Tacitus, who was not only a man of an Tac. Ann. open character, but wrote in a time of liberty, i. 10. under the government of one of the best Princes to be met with in history, has traced a faithful plan of the conduct of Octavius. which I have exactly copied. Suctonius also Suet. Aug. tells his mind very freely, but both of them 12.

A. R. 709 express themselves only in general terms. Ap-Ant. C. 43. pian and Dio, who entered more into particulars, have extracted their histories from sources infected with flattery; and, consequently, ought not to be rashly believed. Thus it frequently happens that we find them contradicted by the small authentic remains of the times we are now speaking of. That is to say, some letters of Cicero and his friends, especially the two Bruti.

> As I do not intend to load this work with differtations, which belong properly to the learned, I shall not discuss those points which I imagine have deceived these two Greek writers. I shall look upon what they have wrote as partial to Octavius, compared with those pieces which we have on the opposite side, and thus I shall endeavour to unravel the truth to my reader. But I return to my subject.

Decimus had no fooner got over his fear of Antony, than he began to be afraid of Octavius. To clear up his fuspicions he desired a conference with him; and it appears, by the manner in which he expresses himself in a letter to Cicero, that he believed he had good rea-Fam. 13. fon not to be displeased with it. But Octavius, who was much more artful than he, deceived him.

The death of Paula.

express

XI. ad

In the mean time Pansa died in Bologna of the wounds which he received at the battle of Castel Franco. Finding there was no hopes of recovery, he sent for Octavius, and, if you believe Appian, revealed to him the plot of the Senators, and their defign to make the Chiefs of Cæsar's party destroy each other. He added, that his view, and that of his Collegue in making war against Antony, was only

ta

to humble him, in order to force him to a re-A.R. 709. conciliation with the fons of his benefactor. Ant. C. 43. He ended, by informing him that he gave him up the two Legions, the Martial and the fourth, and that he would cause all the new raised

troops to be fent to Decimus.

This last circumstance is very certain; and after the death of Panfa, these troops were distributed according to the plan abovementioned. As to the intentions of Panía and Hirtius, they might possibly be such as Appian supposes them; but if it was so, it was furprizing that Cicero had no suspicion of it, and in the letters which he wrote, both during their Consulship, and after their death, he frequently praises them, never in the least suspects their fidelity, and finds no fault with them on any other account, than want of activity and prudence on certain occasions. Besides, their whole conduct, after the death of Cæfar, shewed them to be men most certainly attached to his memory, but enemies to the violences and tyranny of Antony and his party. If they had any fecret defigns they can only be gueffed at.

In short, in a time of factions and troubles, all forts of rumours find credit with those whose prejudices are flattered. Thus, while Appian regards Hirtius and Pansa as devoted to Octavius, this last has been accused by others Tac. Ann. as the author of their death, as having occasioned Hirtius to be killed in the battle by 11. his own soldiers, and as having engaged Pansa's Physician to poison his wounds. These accusations have never been proved, and we have even a letter of Brutus's, in which he justifies Cic. ad Pansa's Physician. We only see by such extra-Brut. i. 6.

that

ordinary

A. R. 709 ordinary reports, what some people believed a Ant. C. 43. young ambitious man, fuch as Octavius, to be amaroini

capable of.

The fatal death of the two Confuls was a fevere blow to the Republick, which found itfelf all at once deprived of its Chiefs. Their bodies were carried to Rome and magnificently interred, and their deaths greatly lamented by the publick. All orders of the State feemed to take a share in the concern; and it has been reported that the Cryers, who officiated at the funeral ceremony, refused their wages on this melancholy occasion. The grief, in the mean time, was greater and more fincere amongst the people, than amongst those at the head of affairs. Hirtius and Panfa had observed a mean between the two parties, which could neither be entirely fatisfactory to the Senate or Octavius. Octavius had found them too much attached to the Senate, and the Senate too lukewarm in the cause of liberty. Cicero hints at this last in speaking of their death: "We" " have loft two good Confuls, fays he, but they " were only good."

Antony is declared an enemy to the publick. Dio.

The next thing that engaged the attention of those who were zealous for the Republick, was how to make the best use of Antony's difgrace, which, at first, they looked upon as quite complete. As foon as they heard the news that the fiege of Modena was raised, they again put on the robe of peace in the city, as if the war had been entirely at an end, and ordained festivals for sixty days. Antony, and all those who had joined him were declared 21. & ad enemies to the publick, and it was refolved

Cic. ad Fam. x.

· Consules duos, bonos nos, amilimus. Cic. ad Brut. quidem, fed duntaxat bo- i. 3.

that

that they should pursue them briskly till they A. R. 709: had compleated their ruin.

In the mean time they appointed a commif-Appian. fion to inspect into the whole conduct of Antony during his Confulship, and to repair all the injustice for which he was blamed, both towards the Republick and particular persons. The end which they proposed by annulling his orders was, that this counter-blow must weaken Cæfar's Decrees, by which he thought himself authorized in all he had done.

At fuch a critical conjuncture, while nobody The genedurst call himself a friend to Antony, and those rosity of who had been the most obliged to him aban-Atticus. doned him and joined his enemies; Atticus, pos in Vit. in spite of his intimate connections with Cicero Att. and Brutus, shewed himself a faithful friend to him in disgrace. He protected Fulvia his wife. who was attacked on all fides by creditors, and perfecuted with a thousand injuries in order to rob her of all she had. He secured his children. who were in danger of their lives. And it cannot be faid, as Corn. Nepos very well obferves, That in all this he acted with the leaft felfish view. For at that time there was no manner of appearance that Antony could ever recover himself, every body believing that he was irrecoverably ruined.

The rigid Republicans, who followed to a The Senate tittle the maxims and fuggestions of Brutus, endeavours were no less active to depress young Cæsar, to pull than to ruin Antony. As they had the upper tavius. hand at that time in the Senate, all the honours Cic. ad were granted to Decimus. He was charged Fam. xi. with the pursuit of Antony, and the battle of & ad Brut, Modena, by which he was delivered barrens. Modena, by which he was delivered, happen Dio. ing accidentally to fall on his birth-day, it

Cic. ad Fam. xi.

A. R. 709 was ordered that that day should be marked Ant. C. 43. with his name in the publick Fasti: In fine, under pretence of some advantages gained by him, feveral months before, over the nations of the Alps, they decreed him a triumph. On the contrary Cicero, who kept more within bounds, having proposed to grant Octavius the honour of an Ovation, had almost the whole Senate against him. And what shewed very plainly their defign of weakening young Cæsar, was their attempt to take away from him the Martial and fourth Legions, and put them under the command of Decimus. But the Senators succeeded no farther in this, than only to discover their ill will towards him. The Legions were too well pleafed with the general they had made choice of, to be prevailed upon to leave him. But the Senate did not content themselves with that; they even carried the affair fo far as to affront Octavius.

Their next business was, to bestow on the victorious Legions those rewards they had promised at the beginning of the war. This was looked upon as an affair of fo great confequence, that in order to raife money, they loaded with a tax the city of Rome itself, Fam. xii. which had been exempted from it ever fince the triumph of Paulus Emilius, conqueror of Perfia, and which submitted with great reluctance to a burden it had not felt for the space of 120 years before. They named fix Commissioners to distribute these rewards; and one would think that it was very natural to have put the officers of those troops in the number. But so far from this, it was faid that those who were at the head of the army could not be named for this office. They chose rather

Cic. ad 30. & ad Baut.i.18. Plut. Æmil. Cic. de Off. ii. 76. to exclude Decimus than to be under a neces. A. R. 709.

fity of admitting Octavius.

This resolution was also taken contrary to the advice of Cicero, who was one of the commissioners. He insisted in favour of the two generals, but was not hearkened to. His prudence was looked on as a felfish piece of policy, and brought upon him afterwards very fmart reproaches from Brutus. On the other hand he was, at the fame time, exposed to the ill-will of the veterans, who looked upon him as favouring the murderers of Cæfar.

The veterans were in the right; and he hap- An equivopened to drop an expression at this time, which cal expresperhaps cost him his life. In fpeaking of fion of Ci-Octavius he faid, that he could not help praif-regard to ing and honouring the young man: he adds a young Cathird phrase which in the Latin bears an equi-far. vocal fense, and may equally fignify to elevate, or rid bimself of bim. This expression came to the ears of Octavius, who faid he would take care not to be elevated in the manner

Cicero intended he should.

In short he actually prepared to lay aside The opposite the mask, and break off with the Senate. It projects and may indeed be faid that he was in a manner interests of forced to it, as it manifestly appeared that they and the proposed to crush Cæsar's party, and to make Senate. the enemies of his name and memory triumph. The general command at fea given to Sextus Pompeius; the formidable power which Brutus and Cassius authorized by the decrees of

Linis

Ipsum Cæsarem nihil tem, ornandum, tollendum; sanè de te questum, nisi se non commissurum ut tolli dictum quod diceret te dix- possit. D. Brut. ad Cic. xi. isse, laudandum adolescen- ad Fam. 20.

A. R. 709. the Senate had acquired; the honours accumu-Ant. C. 73. lated upon Decimus; the indifference which they shewed for Octavius, after Antony was no longer to be feared; all this prognofficated to Cæfar's heir, not only obstacles, with regard to his ambitious projects, but even dangers fatal to his person. He had then good reason to distrust the Senators, and the Senators had reason to distrust him. Their reciprocal interests were directly contrary; and as it is interest which governs men, especially those who have the management of great affairs, the enmity between them became irreconcileable. It was necessary that either the Senate should be crushed to pieces, or else that the ambitious Octavius should perish.

Suet. Aug. 10.

This he had foreseen from the very beginning. For by his plan the authority of the Senate must be destroyed. And he owned this in some measure himself, seeing he made a glory of it, through his whole life, that he had always had in view the revenging the death of his adoptive father, which could not be executed while the Senate preferved any authority. He diffembled at first, that he might not have both the Senate and Antony to ftruggle with at the same time. He even pushed his dissimulation so far, as to agree to release one of Cæsar's murderers, and acted his part fo well in this war, that Cicero testifies in his Brut. I, 10. behalf, that there was no fault to be found with the manner in which he ferved his party.

After Antony's defeat he suspended his activity at once; he took no advantage of the victory, and this was the first fymptom he gave of his fecret intentions. But this was still equivocal, fince the Senate charged Decimus,

and not Octavius to pursue Antony. As for A. R. 709, the rest he kept himself quiet, and had pa-Ant. C. 43. tience for some time; being willing without doubt to obtain some specious pretence against the Senate, which shewed now no more respect for him, and to seem to have been abandoned and offended by the Senators, before he should abandon them, and declare himself their tiding bad marched out of Piculing Lymen

He was not long in finding the pretence The Senate which he wanted, and the Senators took care gives Octo furnish him with it. Being still fond of the pretext, project of drawing from him the troops which which be acknowledged him for their chief, they or-makes use dered the Deputies which they fent to the army of to deto distribute the rewards, to speak to the fol-felf. diers when Octavius was not prefent. After Vell. ii. the Deputies arrived, and had fignified their 62. orders to the young general, he declared that Dio. he would not in the least hinder them from doing what was enjoined them; but he fignified to them, at the fame time, that they would find it a needless trouble, and that he was very fure that the foldiers would neither hearken to them nor give them any answer unless he was present. In this he advanced nothing but the truth, and doubtless he had taken his measures before. The Deputies being returned, without having performed any thing, Octavius embraced this opportunity of laying open to his troops the whole management of the Senate, who are and a defign which was formed of fowing a diffention between the foldiers and their general. His discourse was received with great applause, and the attempt which had been made to deprive him of his army, confirmed the affections of his troops towards him. January Collons '2

A. R. 709 Ottavius approaches towards Antony. Appian.

In the mean time he made preparations to Ant. C. 43 approach towards Antony, but did not enter directly into a negotiation with him. . He began to carefs very much the prisoners, both officers and foldiers, which he had in his power, receiving into his army all fuch as were willing to engage with him, and allowing to the rest the liberty of returning to their general. Ventidius had marched out of Picenum, in order to join Antony; and nothing could have been more easy than for Octavius to have cut them to pieces in their march. But instead of that, when he knew that they were near his camp, he fent to invite them to join his party; or, if Ventidius rather chose it, he would allow him to continue his march unmolested towards Antony, and he charged him to reproach him with his ignorance of their mutual interest. Ventidius made a proper use of this permission, and was not wanting to acquit himself faithfully of his message. This conduct of Octavius fufficiently declared his intentions. For an officer, one of the prisoners, called Decius, taking leave of him to return to Antony, and demanding of him an explanation of his fentiments: "I have done enough, answered Oc-" tavius, for intelligent men. To fuch as are " weak and blind, nothing is fufficient."

He invites Lepiaus and Pollio to join with bim.

He further explained himself in letters to Lepidus and Pollio, with whom he had no difference, and who, till that time, appeared to remain neuter. He represented to them, "That " all the chiefs of Cæfar's party ought to unite " together in order to check the power of his " father's murderers, and also for their own " fafety. That without this it was greatly to be " feared, that they should all be ruined, one after " another,

as had just happened to Antony, by an ef- A. R. 709. fect of his too great boldness, presumption, and obstinacy. That it was right to keep " in with the Senate, and to acknowledge its " authority, without neglecting themselves in the mean time, and taking proper precautions against the dangers which threatened " them." Octavius concluded, with defiring them to communicate these reflections to Antony, and to engage him to give attention to them.

Lepidus was very frongly inclined to conform his conduct to the advice of Octavius. But as to Pollio, if we may judge of his difpolitions by the three letters which we have of his upon the motion above-mentioned, and even by the fierceness of his character, a republican in his heart, and full of efteem for Cicero: though he preserved some respect for the memory of Cæfar, he shewed himself fully determined to affift the Senate against Antony. But his being removed to the furthermost corner of Spain, did not allow him to have any share in the decision of that affair, or to have it in his power to wait for it.

Octavius, besides his general views which He aspires regarded the whole party, had at that time a to the Conparticular one with regard to himself; this was fulfhip. to arrive at the Confulship, void by the death of Hirtius and Panfa. This supreme dignity was very capable of tempting an ambitious young man. Besides, he judged it a kind of protec- Plut. Cic. tion absolutely necessary for him in his present Appian. fituation. He faw himfelt as it were standing alone, an enemy of Antony, not well affured of the dispositions of the other chiefs of Cæfar's party, and obnoxious to the Senate.

VOL. XV. Conful-

A.R. 709 Confulfhip, if he could obtain it, would certainly fortify him, and add to his arms the fupport of the Laws, and of the publick Authority, But the difficulty was, how to succeed. He first addressed himself to Cicero, who allowed himself to be perfuaded to affift him, in a demand for contrary to the rules and interest of the republican party.

Cicero becomes bis dupe, and Supports bim.

This is the part of Cicero's life which gives the greatest handle for censure. It must be owned, that he had a violent inclination towards Octavius, who had infinuated himfelf into his good graces by the most flattering careffes, and who feigned to put his confidence entirely in him, and to make him his only councellor. I am of opinion, however, that whatever Cicero did before that in favour of Cæfar's heir might be justified, and that the reafons he makes use of to defend himself against the reproaches of Brutus on this subject, have a great deal of weight.

Necessity had forced him to throw himself into the arms of Octavius, in the urgent danger which threatened the City and the Republick when Antony marched his Legions from Brundisium to Rome. Young Cafar was then plainly the deliverer of the Senate; and upon this occasion the whole Senators agreed with Cicero, to load him with honours of all kinds.

But I do not know how it happens, fays " Cicero to Brutus, that we are more ready

" to grant liberally in the moment of dan-" ger, than to make any acknowledgment " when it is over." After raifing the fiege of

Modena, the Senate changed its conduct en-

Sed nescio quomodo sa- quam in victoria grati repe-cilius in timore benigni, rimur.

Cic. ad Brut. i. 15.

tirely with regard to Octavius. But Cicero did A. R. 700 not vary from the system he had embraced. Ant. C. 43. He propoled that they should decree to the conqueror the little Triumph, and alledged that that advice was no less prudent, than conformable to the laws of gratitude. He did hot explain bimfelf any further. But independent of other reasons which he might possibly have had, it is certain that if the Senate had been complainant enough to Octavius, to grant him an honour, of no great consequence, he would have thought himself more obliged to have declined making an irregular and dangerous demand of the Confulship.

It was upon occasion of this demand that

Cicero allowed himself to be made a tool of; and, which made it the more inexcusable, thro' ambition and vanity. The young and artful Octavius proposed to him that they should demand the Confulhip together, giving him to understand, that he himself would be contented with the simple title and honour, leaving the power entirely to Cicero. He added, that if he defired that high office, it was only to have an opportunity of laying down his arms honourably, as he had demanded a triumph from the same motive. It is difficult to comprehend how Cicero should be deceived by such a palpable piece of artifice, if it was not that the predominant passion frequently blinds men of the most penetrating genius. Plutarch agrees with Appian in this affair, and it is certain that it was currently reported at that time, that Cicero was to be made Conful, for Brutus in a Brut ad

letter compliments him upon it. This old and Cie. I. 4. wife statesman, imposed on by a young man

A. R. 709 neffes of the trick which was put upon him. Aat. C. 43. He represented, "That the Republick could " fcarce put confidence in any of the generals " which commanded the armies in the neigh-" bourhood of Italy, and who acted like in-" dependents, making treaties among them-" felves for their proper interests, without any " regard to the fervice of the State. Confe-" quently it behoved the Senate to attach itself " to Octavius, whom hitherto it had regard-" ed but very little; and that it was neces-" fary to regain him by means of some ho-" nours, left being irritated and in arms it " might be more difficult to reftrain him within " proper bounds, than if he was in the city and vested with the Consulship. That after " all they could appoint a kind of manager and " tutor for him, under the name of collegue, " and make choice of one of the old Senators

demand of

The Senate " to direct his counfels." This discourse did rejects the not impose upon any. The friends of Brutus Odavius. presently discovered in it Cicero's weakness, and made a jest of it. They had no mind to consent to the preferment of Cæsar's son, and to put it in his power to revenge the death of his father.

> This artifice of Octavius had not its intended effect; and as he was not powerful enough to subdue the Senate himself, it is very probable that he would not have fucceeded in usurping the Consulship, if the junction of Lepidus and Antony had not caused new alarms to the Republick, and quite discouraged it.

The Senate at the beginning of the troubles The junction of Le-had ordered Lepidus and Plancus to come from pidus and Gaul with their armies to the affiftance of the Antony. Republick. If these two generals had faith-Cic. ad Fam.x.33.

fully and punctually obeyed this order, Antony A. R. 709. must have been infallibly ruined. But, in the Plancus ad first place, they were quarrelling with each Cic. L. x. other, and confequently little disposed to act ad Fam. in conjunction; and it was with fome difficulty that Iuventius Laterensis, Lepidus's lieutenant, a very zealous citizen for the cause of liberty, prevailed at last in part to remove this obstacle, by negotiating between them a feeming reconciliation. In the fecond place, their politicks made them both wait the fuccess, before they would determine; with this difference, that Lepidus favoured Antony's party, while Plancus, on the other hand, inclined more towards the Senate. From all this there refulted an indolent conduct, and affected delays which prolonged the affair fo much, that the quarrel was terminated in Italy by the raising the siege of Modena, and by the flight of Antony, without their having in the least contributed to it, during the time that they were still in Gaul. This event put an end to Plancus's equivocations, and obliged him to engage heartily against the unfortunate Antony. In the letters which he wrote after that time to Cicero, he fpeaks in the fame flyle concerning the Republick, as Cicero himself; he does not spare to give Antony and his party the most odious epithets; and he passed the Iser to join Lepidus, who was encamped at the Pons Argentorum, upon a river of the same name, on this fide the town called Forum Voconii. But when he came near it, he understood that Lepidus had received Antony into his camp. In this manner was that affair conducted.

Octavius, as I have faid, did not purfue Antony, who had gained two days march upon

Decimus.

A.R. 709. Decimus, for he marching in a regular man-Apr. C. 43 ner, could not make fuch quick progress as flying troops, whose only care it is to escape the enemy. It is incredible what Antony fuffered in this flight. There was a prodictions famine in his army, especially at the passage of the Alps; even fo great as to make them endeayour to convert into nourishment the barks. of trees, and to eat animals for which nature has the greatest abhorrence. The foldiers nevertheless suffered this great calamity with courage, because their general himself set them an example; and they faw that man, who was accustomed to a luxurious diet, and the most delicious wines, drink very chearfully of muddy flinking water, and eat wild fruits and roots. For Antony ' became superior to himself in adversity; and when he was mortified with difgrace, he refembled in all respects a man of virtue, which is no mean encomium. In short, as Plutarch observes, it is common for those who are ill used by fortune, to acknowledge their faults, and pay respect to virtue. But all have not refolution to practife what they approve, and to shun what they condemn. On the contrary, your weak and effeminate characters, when they are crushed by adversitys only return more easily to their, former habits afterwards. Upon other occasions Antony return'd to his natural inclinations; and when in his match he met with plenty he gave himfelf up to his usual intemperance. This gave occasion

• Фоты कावर ने ने मामा विशेष के देशके का प्रमान के कि πραβας εξίνειο βέλις εαυτό, φεύγειε à δυσχεράνετα εξέντι κλουτο μεν ονίος το αιαθομισθας η μένον εν ταζ μεταδολαίς αλλα The agelie rois de anophen dublie und adereiae, of Sear-The speadophisms, is not an empioned in devision. Plats

to a witty faying of one of his friends, who A.R. 709. being afked what Antony was doing: "He Macrob." toos, answer'd his friend, like the dogs along Sat. ii. 2. "the Nile, he flies and drinks." For, according to an antient tradition, the dogs, on the banks of that river, for fear of the crocodiles drink as they run. But whenever the want of provisions came, Antony suffered it with an heroick resolution. This made his troops, which otherwise, very probably, would have abandoned him, adhere firmly to him, and put him in a condition to reap the advantage of the favour which Lepidus privately intended.

That vain and deceitful man pushed his dissimulations, or perhaps his want of resolution, as
far as possible. He wrote to Rome, promising Cic. ad
an inviolable attachment to the Senate, and sent Fam.x.34.
letters and couriers to Plancus to hasten his arrival, while he in the mean time, gave orders
to Culeo, one of his heurenants, to guard the
passes of the Alps; but instead of desending
them, he opened them all. Thus Antony
marched down without any molestation, and
encamped near Frejus, with a considerable arrhy, Ventidius having joined him with three
legions.

Antony finding himself near Lepidus, did Plut. Antono fortify his camp with any lines or intrench-Appian. ments, chusing to have it known that he believed himself among his friends. And he was not deceived; for the whole army of Lepidus, composed chiefly of old troops, that had served under Cæsar, was inclined towards Antony; and the Lepidus continued to act the farce, and refused to see a General declared a publick enemy by the senate; yet Antony had fre-

D 4

quent

A. R. 709 quent interviews with the foldiers, advancing as far as the borders of their lines, with an air of affliction, in a mourning habit, and acting the supplicant, conjuring them to undertake his defence against his enemies. The end of all this contrivance was, that one morning the troops of Lepidus, having destroyed the fortifications on one fide of the camp, and thrown the earth of the parapet into the ditch, received Antony, conducting him to the General's tent. who was then in bed. They all pretended that they defired to engage in the cause of their friends who ferved under Antony, and were involved in the fame condemnation with them. Lepidus, feeing things carried fo far, thought he had a sufficient excuse for taking a step which he feemed absolutely forced to, and confented to affift Antony with all his forces.

Cic. ad To this purpose he wrote to the Senate, and Fam.x.35 observed in his letter what we have just mentioned, that a sedition of his soldiers had obliged him to undertake the desence of so great

Cic. ad a number of unfortunate Citizens. The Senate Brut, i. 15. did not suffer itself to be deceived by this frivolous excuse; on the contrary declared him an enemy to the Publick, and pulled down the statue they had decreed to him, which had been erected but a few months before. Cicero,

Cic. ad Plancus, and Decimus Brutus, had judged the Fam. x. & fame of the conduct of Lepidus, and thought that his joining with Antony was owing to treachery, and not at all to weakness and timidity. In effect, Antony did not treat him like a General deprived of his power, to whom he granted the title and honours of command.

We shall see them act afterwards like friends

Cic. ad Fam. x. and equals, sharing together the fruit of the crimes

crimes they are going to commit. This June- A. R. 709.
Ant. C. 43.

Juventius Laterensis, who alone in this vell. ii. whole affair acted with fincerity, ashamed of 63. having been made the dupe of Lepidus, and despairing of the Republick, killed himself as foon as Antony entered the camp. Plancus speedily repassed the Iser, and received Decimus, who arrived foon after in Gaul with his army. Thus supported, he continued firm for about two months, with the party he had embraced; and, if we believe Cicero's letters, his zeal went so far as to press Octavius to come and finish the ruin of the enemies of the Republick, by joining with himself and Decimus. He was quite ready to act, provided he had nothing to risk. But Octavius, at that time, thought of nothing less than of making war against Antony. All his views tended to take advantage of the consternation, or the renewal of the troubles and dangers of the Senate, to force them to confent to his being named Conful, in order to release him from his engage-

He could not have wished for a more fa- The Senate vourable opportunity. The consternation of basrecourse the Senate was proportioned to the greatness to Octaof the danger, and there was no resource at Appian. hand. They wrote to Brutus and Cassius to Dio.
press them to come to the assistance of their country; but they were at too great a distance.
Sextus Pompeius had but a handful of men, and those troops which they might expect from Africa and Sardinia, were not sufficient to support their spirits. There was then a necessity for having recourse to Octavius, whom they had but just before despised and affronted. The Senate,

A. R. 709 Senate, who fince the railing of the fiege of Modena had never employed him, and even attempted to take his legions from him, ordered him to make war in conjunction with

Decimus against Antony and Lepidus.

Julibip.

Who takes Octavius, far from being disposed to declare that oppor- himself an enemy to these two Generals, acfurnity to u-tually negotiated with them. Wherefore he not only refused as a favour the commission which was given him, but he drew from it a pretence to irritate the foldiers against the Senate. He made them understand that the Senate, always devoted to the memory and cause of Pompey. had no other delign than to make those who were attached to Cæfar, destroy each other; and that the fruit of fo many wars, in which they were fuccessively engaged, would be the triumph of Pompey's party, which had fo often been vanquished. That besides, it was very strange, that they should send them out upon a new expedition, without paying them the rewards promifed for the first, which they had so happily terminated. He added, in order to affect them by the most powerful motive, that the veteran foldiers could no longer depend on the peaceable and certain possession of those estates which Casar had granted them. That this poffession was founded on Casar's acts, against the validity of which the Senate had just manifested its displeasure, by ordering an enquiry to be made into all that Antony had done during his confulthip, which was authorized by the same acts. In fine, he mixed fome reflections on the danger he was in himfelf, which he protested gave him less concern, than their proper interest. The only remedy, in his opinion, for fo many disappointments

was, to make him be declared Confine; and he a. R. 709. promised, that if he arrived at than office, he would take the most effectual measures in order that the foldiers might enjoys the just recompences of their fervices, and to revenge the death of his father.

This speech was received with very great applante, and in consequence of it the soldiers engaged themselves by oath to one another, not to sight against any of those who had seved under Cæsar. This was plainly resusing to make war against Lepidus and Antony, whose armies were chiefly composed of those soldiers. They further vereils a deputation of four hundred of them to the Senate to demand the payment of the grown denarib which had been promised them, and the promotion of their General to the Consultation.

It was doubtless about this time that Givero, who saw the tendency of all these moviess, and who thought himself always fure of the friendship of Octavius, wrote to him in savour of Brutus and Cassius, for whom, properly speakings he demanded a pardom which out casioned a very sharp reprimand from Brutus to his too humble intercessor; but I deser mentioning it here, that I may not interrupt the thread

of my narration.

The Senate confented too give fatisfaction to the army with regard to the money: but they would not hear them speak of the Consultation for Octavius, insulting particularly on his youth. The soldiers, however, who had been well instructed before, quoted examples to support their demand, viz. that of Valerius Corvus, the first Scipio, and also that of Rompey, which was still recent. They further alleged the privilege.

A. B. 709 vilege which the Senate had granted Octavius, Ant. C. 43 of putting up for offices ten years before the age prescribed by the laws; representing that he wanted only a ftep to arrive at the point which he then pretended to. Thus one infraction of rules or statutes becomes a handle for demanding a fecond. The Senate however. which had feveral other reasons for refusing Octavius the Confulship, besides that of his

Suet. Aug. youth, kept firm to their refusal? Then Cornelius the Centurion, chief of the Deputation. went out from amongst the Deputies, and laying his hand on his fword, he turned towards the Senators, and faid to them, * " If you will " not give the Confulship to my General, I " will give it him myfelf?" Upon which Cicero answer'd pleasantly, " If you demand the " Confulship in this manner for Octavius, you

" will certainly obtain it." deliduel and

This was the intention of the young General, who feeing the foldiers irritated at the Senate's refusal, took care to nourish and forment their passion, and make them press him to usurp by force what the Senate had before refused. Thus yielding to so grateful a violence. he passed the Rubicon, a name fatal in the civil wars of the Cæfars, and with eight legions he marched against Rome. At this news the Senate was quite disconcerted. I have observed elsewhere, that firmness in a society is not to be expected when the danger is very preffing, of which the pufillanimous conduct of the Senate on this occasion is an evident proof. The first

Perhaps the historians have confounded the two Cafars:

^{*} I bave quoted from Plutareb a similar passage on the subject of Cafar's second Con- and perhaps the same thing Sulhip (Tom. 13. Pag. 351.) may have happened twice.

motion that was made, was to grant every A. R. 709. thing both to the foldiers and the general." They gave orders to distribute the 5,000 denarii a piece, promised long ago to the troops, and Octavius had the whole charge of this commission. To him they likewise promised the Confulship. But scarce were the deputies gone to carry him this decree, when the Senators began to reproach themselves with their timidity, and two legions being arrived from Africa at that time, as if by appointment, they took courage, imagining that with these two legions, and a third which Pansa had left to guard the city, they should be able to defend themselves against the approaching army. They station'd troops upon the Mons Janicularius, where the publick money was depofited; and fortified the bridge which forms a communication between the Janiculum and the City. It had been greatly to be wished that they could have fecured the mother and fifter of Octavius; because that with such hostages they could have obtained every thing from that young general. But their friends concealed them so faithfully, that it was not possible to discover their place of refuge.

But all this haughtiness and boldness of the Senators came to nothing at the arrival of Octavius. He had taken the wise precaution, to send proper persons before to declare that they had nothing to fear from him, for he would commit no hostility in the city. By means of this promise the people remained quiet; and even the Senate's three legions, who were but coldly attached to the cause, and who probably meditated at that time the change of party which they soon after executed, did not

. R. 709 fo much as draw a fword; fo that Octavius bem. C. 43 ing encamped at the foot of the Quirinal, was heartily congratulated. Every body flocked to him, not only the lower people, but even a great many of the first rank in the Senate. Next morning he entered Rome with a fufficient guard, and was received amidst the acclamations of the people. His first care was to go to the temple of Vesta, where he knew his mother and fifter were. Then the three legions ranked themselves under his command. and the Senate, destitute of all resource, submitted to him; Cornatus the Prætor only killing himfelf in despair. The rest went and made their submissions to him whom fortune had rendered their mafter. Even Cicero himfelf fubmitted to this hard and mortifying talk, which drew on him a sharp rebuke from Octavius, as being the last of his friends who came to congratulate him.

It was with extreme reluctance that the Senate submitted to this young and aspiring man. But what cannot be excused in so wife a society is, that upon a falle report, without the least foundation, they suddenly changed their conduct, and foolishly attempted to shake of a yoke, which by this means was only rendered the heavier. Some person, it seems, told the chiefs of the Senate, that the two legions which I have frequently mention d, the Martial and the fourth, and were excellent troops, had left Octavius, and declared themselves for the cause of liberty. This news spread itself in an inftant; the Senators affembled in the night; and Cicero being one of the first who cante to the gate of the Senate-house, encouraged all who came in, zealously to defend the Repub-

lick.

Crassus to Picenum, in order to raise troops. After all this they examined the source of the report on which their hopes were sounded, and as they could not discover any certain author, they became more terrified than ever, and presently dispersed themselves. Cicero sted out of the city in his litter, and Octavius had reason to ridicule an attempt so ill concerted. As to him, he observed always the same apparent mildness in his proceedings; and Aquilius Crassus, who was taken prisoner disguised like a slave, being brought before him, he immediately pardoned him, knowing very well that he should have opportunity enough afterwards to revenge himself.

Thus having become absolute master of Rome, he took possession of all the publick money, which was deposited in the Janiculum and elsewhere, and distributed to each of the soldiers two thousand five hundred denarii, promising them very soon a like sum which remained due to them. Next he pushed his election to the Consulship; and when he had taken all his measures like a serupulous candidate, and one who was far from wanting to curb by his presence the liberty of the suffra-

ges, he went out of the city,

This election was extremely irregular, such as there never had been any instance of before, nor was it ever imitated afterwards. The true, that the two Confuls being dead, it was not easy to proceed according to the laws, and antient customs, to the nomination of their successfors. The inter-reigning Confuls could not be nominated till the Curule magistrate's of fice was expired; and consequently to elect Consuls.

A. R. 709. Confuls, by the way of inter-regnum, it was ant. C. 43. necessary to wait till the first of January. Sylla had got himself established Dictator, in a case fimilar to the prefent: and Cæfar had usurped the same title without the help of the Confuls. But this resource, tho' unlawful, was yet wanting here, because the name of Dictator had been abolished for ever by a law of Antony. He was advised to create two Pro-confuls by a decree of the Prætor of the city, supported no doubt by the authority of the Senate, whose office should be confined to preside in the asfemblies where the Confuls were to be elected. Thus Octavius was named Conful, together with Q. Pedius, one of his co-heirs, which they gave him rather as a servant than a collegue. He took possession of the Consulship the tenth day of August, when he was not yet full twenty years old, according to the common way of reckoning, for he was born the twenty-fecond of September. But as in order to reform the kalendar, Cæsar had made one year to consist of fifteen months instead of twelve, the months which were added ought to be reckoned into the age of Octavius. And thus he was entered, according to this computation, into his twentyfirst year when he was made Conful.

After the ceremony of taking possession was over, the first use that he made of his consular power, was to secure to himself his estate. He put the last seal to the affair of his adoption, by having it ratified in the affembly of the Curii, which the opposition and artifice of Antony had hindered him from obtaining the year before. By this formality he entered into full possession of all the rights of Cæsar's son. s of Aprel Copies, par spand o gen He

He next supported the obligations of this A.R. 709. title, in avenging by the publick authority, which he had now in his own hands, the death of his father. This I shall relate in the following book, and in the mean time lay before the reader the resections and complaints of Brutus against Cicero: one of the most precious fragments which antiquity has transmitted to us, and where we see with admiration that great superiority which virtue gives a person over the best talents, dignities, and the advantage of age.

Cicero, as I have faid, had wrote to young Complaints Cæsar in savour of Brutus and Cassius, in the sol- of Brutus lowing terms: "There is one thing, said against Cicero, con- he, demanded and expected of you, which tained in is, that you consent to preserve to the two letters, "Republick, persons who are much esteemed the one to to by all good men, and indeed by all the Rosels, the owners are much esteemed." Brutus, to whom this part of Cicero bim- cero's letter had been sent by Atticus, conse- ticus. Quently wrote to him, who imagined he had

done him a friendly office. At first he thanks him very politely for his good intentions, but enraged at his going so far, he repeats to Cicero his own words, and then he adds, "It is "your opinion then, that if Octavius does not consent to our preservation, we must cer-

*Unum ais effe, quod ab eo postuletur & exspectetur: ut eos cives de quibus viri boni populusque Romanus bene existimet, salvos velit. Quid si nolit, non erimus? Atqui non esse, quàm esse per illum, præstat. Ego, medius sidius, non existimo tam omnes deos aversos esse à Vol. XV.

falute populi Romani, ut Octavius orandus fit pro falute cujusquam civis, non dicam pro liberatoribus Orbis terrarum. Juvat enim magnificè loqui; & certè decet, adversus ignorantes, quid pro quoque timendum, aut à quoque petendum fit.

" tainly

A. R. 709: 10 tainly perish. I would have you know that Ant. c. 73. 24 It is better for us to perilh, than to be pro-

" tected by him. I can hever believe that the " gods have taken such an aversion to the Ro-

" mans, as that it should become necessary to " befeech Octavius for the fafety of the most

" worthless Citizen, so far is it from being ne-

" ceffary for the deliverance of the universe.

" It gives me pleafure to make use of haughty expressions here, and certainly it is proper

to tife them to those who do not know what " is to be feared for some people, and de-

" manded from others."

Brutus proves to Cicero, and makes him fenfible of it, how unworthy it was to acknowledge Octavius for a master, and to address a supplication of that nature to him. He observes, that if he, and those of his opinion were defirous to be obliged to any one for protection, Antony would have given them the most advantageous terms. " And this child, fays " he, whom the name of Cæfar, which he " bears, feems to animate against those who have killed the other Cæfar, how much do " you think it would have cost him to have " purchased our confent to that power which he aspires to, provided we were in the humour " to liften to fuch a proposal, and which he " would certainly have obtained, because we

Cæfaris nomen imitare videtur in Cæfaris interfectores, quanti æftimet (fi fit commercio locus) posse nobis auctoribus tantum, quantum profectò poterit, quoniam vivere, & pecunias habere & dici consulares vo-Villag "

· Hic ipfe puer, quem lames. . . . Sed mihi prius omnia dii daeeque eripuerint, quam illud judicium, quo non modò hæredi ejus quem occidi non concesserim quod in illo non tuli, fed ne patri quidem meo, fi reviviscat, ut patiente me plus legious ac Senatu possit.

. Want

want to preserve our lives, to be rich, and A. R. 709. maintain our rank as Confuls? But may the Ant. C. 43.

" gods deprive me of every thing in the world,

se fooner than the constant resolution I have staken, not only to refuse the heir of him I

" have killed, that which I would not agree

so to in himself, but also not to consent that

even my father, were he to return to life,

" should be more powerful than the laws and

the Senate."

What he further adds, is in the manner of the Stoicks, but the fubtilty of it does not at all diminish the elevation of the sentiments contained in it. " There ' is a contradiction, fays " he to Cicero, in what you demand; and it ss is impossible it should be granted. You se alk Octavius to confent to our preservation. " Do you imagine, that after we have received " fecurity for our lives, by that alone we shall er enjoy a real fafety? What kind of fafety se can that be called which must cost us both our honour and liberty? Do you believe s that to live in Rome, is to enjoy fafety? "Tis the thing, and not the place, that ought " to procure one that inestimable blessing. I was robbed of it while Caefar lived, till the. " day I formed the project of that great and memorable action; and I cannot be banish-

* Qui porro, id quod petis, fieri potelt, ut impetres? Rogas enim, velit nos falvos elle. Videmur ergo tibi falutem accepturi, quum vitam acceperimus ? quam, fi priùs dimittimus dignitatem ac libertatem, qui possumus accipere? An cu Romæ habieare, id putas incolumem

effe? Res, non locus, oportet præftet illuc mihi. Neque incolumis sui Cesare vivo, nifi pofiquem illud confeivi facious : neque ufquam exful effe poffum, dum fervire & pati contumelias pejus odero mala omnibus aliis.

sbusi a manipulation of

A. R. 709. " ed in whatever place I am, as long as I look ant. C. 43. " upon flavery and the difgrace annexed to it,

" as the greatest of evils."

A little afterwards he mentions fome things relating particularly to Cicero, and gives him very strong lessons in a very free manner. "Do " not recommend me any more, fays he, to " the protection of your young Cæfar. " you would take my advice you should not " recommend yourself to him. You must " furely put a very great value on the number " of years which you can now hope to live, " fince that can make you floop to supplicate " a child. Besides, I would have you beware " of tamishing the glory of those great things " you have done, and still continue to do " against Antony. Take care that people do " not impute them to generofity, but to a con-" cern for your own fafety; for if you are " willing to ask pardon for us of Octavius, " people will think that your scheme has not " been to avoid having a master, but to find " out one who loved you, and was good na-" tured."

After some other reflections, which I omit, he proceeds thus. "For my part, I am a "man, who not only disdain to make any sup"plication"

Me verò posthac ne commendaveris Cæsari tuo: ne te quidem ipsum, si me audies. Valde carè æstimas tot annos, quot ista ætas recipit, si propter eam causam puero isti supplicaturus es. Deinde, quod pulcherrimè fecisti ac facis in Antonio, vide ne convertatur à laude

maximi animi ad opinionem formidinis. Nam fi Octavius tibi placet, à quo de nostra falute petendum fit, non dominum fugisse, sed amiciorem dominum quæfisse videberis.

Ego verò is sum, qui non modò non supplicem, sed etiam coerceam postulantes

plication myself, but discourage all those A.R. 709. " who advise me to it; in which, if I do not Ant. C. 43.

" fucceed, at least I shall not be mortified with

" the view of voluntary flavery. Every place

" where I can be free, shall be to me a Rome; 56 and I shall commiserate you and those other

"Senators, whom neither age, past honours,

of nor the examples of virtue in others could

"teach to despise life."

He further declares a steady resolution to try every thing to deliver his country from flavery; and adds, "If a I meet with the fuccess which is due to fo noble a project, the joy will be " universal; if not, at least I shall rejoice my-" felf. For in what actions or schemes can I better employ my life, than in those which "tend to establish my fellow-citizens in pos-" fession of their liberties?"

When he comes to conclude, he is more gentle, but nevertheless still preserves the ascendant. "I befeech and advise you, my dear Cicero, not " to despond or be discouraged; and while you " are careful to avert the present evils, endea-" vour to prevent those still greater which threa-"ten you. Be perfuaded, that the zeal for li-" berty, and the generous courage by which

ut fibi supplicetur. Aut longè à servientibus abero, mihique esse judicabo Romam, ubicunque liberum esse licebit: ac vestri miserebor, quibus nec ætas, neque honores, neque virtus aliena dulcedinem vivendi minuere po-

Si secuta fuerit quæ debet fortuna, gaudebimus om-

LIZIN P

gaudebo. Quibus enim potiùs hæc vita factis aut cogitationibus traducatur, quam iis quæ pertinuerint ad liberandos cives meos?

b Te, Cicero, rogo atque hortor ne defatigere, neu diffidas : semper in præsentibus malis prohibendis futura quoque nisi antè sit occurium, explores ne fe innes: fin minus, ego tamen finuent. Fortem & liberum animum

A. R. 709 " you have faved the Republick both former-Aut. C. 43 4 ly from the rage of Catiline, and lately from that of Antony , be perfuaded, I fay, that " that courage will lofe its reward, unless fupof ported by a constant perseverance. Forcer-" tainly that virtue which has been put to the " trial, is fubject to a more fevere law, than " that which has not yet discovered itself. "Whoever has begun to do good actions, " ought to expect that a continuation of the " fame conduct will be demanded of him as a " debt; and if he is deficient in it, we are in-" duced to centure him rigoroully, as having deceived us. Thus for Cicero to relift An-" tony, is doubtless worthy of very great praise; " but no body is surprized at it, because so " great a Conful as he has shewed himself, " must be expected to give a good account of " his Confulship. On the contrary, if the same " Cicero should be remis with regard to others, " after having shewed his firmness against An-" tony, he will not only deprive himself of the " glory which he might justly expect, but also " lose that which he had before acquired. For there is nothing truly glorious, but that

animum quo & Consul, & nunc Consularis rempublicam vindicasti, fine constantia & equabilitate nullum esse putaris. Pateor enim duriorem essa conditionem spectatæ virtutis, quam incognitæ. Benefacta pro debitis exigimus. Quæ aliter evenium, ut decepti ab his, insesto animo reprehendimus. Itaque resistere Antonio Ciceronem, etsi magra laude dignum est, tamen, quia sile Consul hunc

Consularem meritò præstare videtur, nemo admiratur, Idem Cicero si slexerit adversus alies judicium suum, quod tanta sirmitate ac magnitudine direxit in exturbando Antonio, non modò reliqui temporis gloriam eripuerit sibi, sed etiam præsterita evaneseere coget. Nisil enim per se amplum est, nisi in quo judicii ratio exstat. Brur, ad Cic. 16.

which proceeds from a mind that is firm, A.R. vos and acting out of principle.

much superior to Cicero in this letter. But that wirtue, which is purely human, is always contradictory to itself in some respect. Thus there is a pride which discovers itself visibly in a great many of the sentiments of Brutus; and this hero's Stoicism promised him a sirmness which his bad success deprived him of, as we shall see at his death. 'Tis revelation alone, as I have had occasion to remark, that furnishes us with a solid support for virtue, by shewing us the reward of another dife.

At the end of Brunus's letter to Gicero, there follows another from him to Atticus, which is no less interesting. The principal subject of this also is Cicero, against whom Brutus expreffes him felf with less referve, tho' without the least passion. There had never been a thorough intimacy between them, as any one may easily observe, who reads with attention Cicero's letter to Atticus. The fame interest and manner of thinking, with regard to government, had made them contract a fincere friendship, but atways accompanied with fome feeds of difunion. The difference of their characters was an obitacle to the uniting of their hearts. The one was more gentle, pliable, and disposed to make allowances for circumstances of times and perfons; the other was more haughty and rigid, taking truth and justice for the only rule of his fentiments and conduct, so that it was no easy matter for two persons of such different characters to agree perfectly in every circumstance.

The subject of this letter from Brutus to Atticus, is, that Cicero, who loved praise, had E 4 comA. R. 709 complained, that Brutus never paid him any Ant. C. 43. compliment upon the real fervices which he had render'd to the Republick. Brutus anfwered, that Cicero had performed wonders against Antony, but that he spoiled all by his complaifance for young Octavius. This anfwer is wrote with great copiousness, energy, and nobleness of sentiment. I shall give an extract of some of the most beautiful parts of

wole or the state of the state Brutus accuses Cicero of having pushed the defire he had of pleasing Octavius so far as to infult Casca, one of those who had killed Cæfar, and to treat him as an Affaffin. If the fact was true, it was certainly very strange. Brutus looks upon it as certain, and expresses very strongly his indignation against it. "Cicero is not fenfible, then, fays he, that thefe " injurious terms which he makes use of fall " more justly on himself, since he has occasi-" oned the death of five illustrous citizens in-" flead of one. He must own himself to be " an Assassin before he can brand Casca with " that name; and, with regard to our affo-" ciate, he imitates the invectives of Catoline's " favourers. What! because we are not con-" flantly praifing our ides * of March, as he

bi, nisi unum : pueri & cupiditatem & licentiam potius effe irritatam quam represtam à Cicerone; tantumque eum tribuere huic indulgentiæ, ut se maledictis non abstineat, iis quidem quæ in ipsum dupliciter recidunt, quod & plures occidit uno, feque priùs oportet fateatur ficarium, quam objiciat Cascæ quod ob-

Nescio quid scribam ti- jicit, & imitatur in Casca Bestiam. An quia non omnibus horis jectamus Idus Martias, fimiliter atque ille Nonas Decembres suas in ore habet, eo meliore conditione pulcherrimum factum vituberabit, quam Bestia & Clodius reprehendere illius Consulatum soliti fint?

* The day on which Cofar

was killed.

has always in his mouth the + nones of De- A. R. 709. " cember, does he think that he has a better Ant, C. 43.

" right to decry an heroic action, than Beftia

" and Clodius had to criticife his confulfhip?"

Brutus proceeds directly to the principal object of his letter. " Our friend Cicero, fays " he, glories in having supported the war a-" gainst Antony, without going out of Rome. " And of what use can this great piece of ser-" vice be to me, if by way of recompence for " having oppressed Antony, I am demanded " to restore him to his former dignity; and " if the avenger of the first tyrant must be al-" lowed to fet up another, who, if we fuffer 56 it, will be more strongly established, and " more hardly extirpated? No, Cicero in " acting thus, does not shew his fear of " tyranny, but only that he will not have Anst tony for the tyrant. But I can never ap-" prove of his way of thinking, who has an

" aversion only for the person and not for the

" thing, being no ways afraid of flavery " in itself, but of slavery under an exasperated

" mafter."

What follows a little below is still more bitterly expressed. "We are but too afraid of

+ The day on which the accomplices of Catiline were condemned to death by the Se-

| Tribunes of the people, who railed at Cicero's Con-

sulfbip.

* Suftinuisse mihi gloriatur bellum Antonii togatus Cicero noster. Quid hoc tem, & exsilium, & paupermihi prodest, si merces An- tatem. Hæc videntur Cicetonii oppressi poscitur in An-

tonii locum successio; & si vindex illius mali, auctor exstitit alterius, fundamentum & radices habituri altiores, fi patiamur ? ut jam ifta quæ facit, non dominationem, non. fed dominum Antonium timentis fint.

Nimiùm timemus morroni ultima esse in malis : &

R. 709 " death, fays he, of exile and poverty! Thefe, 400. C. 45.46 according to Cicero, are the worst of evils; " and, provided he has to do with men, of " whom he can obtain his defires, and be " praised and carefied, he does not refuse a " flavory which is honourable, if there can any " thing be faid to be honourable in the midft of " milery and disgrace. Although Octavius " calls Cicero his father, confults him in every thing, praifes him, and returns him ac-" knowledgments, yet these fine compliments " will foon be belied by their effects. For " who is there fo void of common fense as to " look upon one as his father, who is not even " a freeman? In the mean time our friend is ff in the right to regard the friendship and fato your of Octavius as the object of his wishes, and ultimate aim of his politicks. I have of no more any regard for all those fine ac-" complishments with which Cicero is adorned. Of what service is it to him, all that

> dum habeat à quibus impe-tret quæ velit, & à quibus colatur ac laudetur, fervitutem, honorificam modò, non espernatur : si quidquam in extrema ac miferrima contumelia potest honorificum esse. Licet ergo patrem appellet Octavius Ciceronem, referat omnia, laudet, gratias agat; tamen illud apparebit, verba rebus effe contraria. Quid enim tam alienum ab humanis sensibus est, quam eum patris habere loco, qui ne liberi quidem hominis numero fit? Atqui en tendit, id agit, ad com exitom properat vir optimes ut fit illiOcta-

vius propitius. Ego jam iie artibus nihil tribue, quibus scio Ciceronem instructiffimum effe. Quid enim illi profont que pro libertate patrie, quæ de dignitate, quæ de morte, exfilio, pauperate, scripfit copiolistime ! Quanto autem magis illa callere videtur Philippus, qui privigno minus tribuerit, quam Cicero alieno tribuat? Definat igitur gloriando etiam insectati dolores nostros. Quid enim naftra, victum effe Antonium, fi vidus eft ot alii vacaret quod ille obtinuit? tameth tuze littere dubia etiam nune fignificant.

14 he has wrote with for much eloquence for 4. R. 709 " the liberty of his country, upon the glory of

"virtue, death, exile and poverty? How " much more must Philip, though nova man

of learning, appear to possess those great " maxims? He does less for his fon-in-law.

than Cicero for a stranger. Let him cease

then to increase our troubles, by praising " himself at such a rate. Of what service is ft

to us that Antony has been vanquished, if

es that was done only to fill his place with an-

other? Besides your letter makes me ap-

or prehend that the victory is not entire, nor

of through there a haughistbemediadous or adult to

I lagree to then, that Cicero shall live. " fince he is refolved upon it, suppliant and " dependent, if he is not ashamed to dishonour " his age, his former high offices, and glory. As for me I will make war for ever, I do " not fay against persons, but the thing itself, " against tyranny, against those commands " iffued in an extraordinary manner, against that domination and power which would raife itself above the laws; and there is no flavery " so agreeable and advantageous, the offer of which can feduce me, or make me abandon my refolution. In vain you tell me that Antony is an honest man. I never believed it. Our ancestors never would allow that

Vivat heroule Cicero, supra leges se esse velit, nul-qui potest, supplex & obnox-la erit ram bosa conditio ser-sus, il neque actatis, neque ho-viendi qua deterrear : quamrum pudet. Ego certe quin Antonius; quod ego nuncum ipfa re bellum geram, quam existimavi. Sed domihor eft, eum regno, & im- num, ne parentem quidem periis extraordinariis, & do- majores noftri voluerunt effe. minatione, & potentia uga eminini Pa

A CONTRACT

A. R. 709. " in the Republick, a father should be suffer-Ant. C. 43. " ed to be a mafter and a tyrant." detail see

Brutus after this long invective, which he very well knew would grieve Atticus, makes fome excuse for it, but however without retracting. On the contrary, he infifts afresh upon the very foundation of the thing. " Be" " persuaded, says he, that my affection for "Cicero is not in the least diminished, but my " esteem very much; for it is impossible that " we should not judge of objects according to

" their appearances." They be their appearances."

It must be confessed, that these two letters of Brutus, have a haughtiness and roughness which few people are capable of. But had it been possible to have preserved the liberty of Rome, it could only have been done by a man of that character. The conduct of Cicero, especially towards the latter times, could not bear a comparison with that of Brutus. It was too gentle, timorous, and ineffectual; and I am surprized, how people can undertake to justify his complaifance for Octavius, when they fee how he was rewarded for it. What could happen worse to him than a cruel death? And how much more glorious would this death have been, had he shewn the same vigorous spirit against Octavius, as that with which he fubdued the tyrannical power of Antony?

In concluding this book, I ought not to o-The founmit the origin of one of the principal towns of dation of the town of France; viz. Lyons, which was founded by Lyons.

Dio.

fum esse, de judicio largiter. illo opinionem habeat. Brut. Neque enim impetrari po- Attico.

2 Persuade tibi de volun- test, quin quale quidque vitate propria mea nihil remif- deatur ei, talem quisque de

Minutius

Minutius Plancus, who, while he waver'd, A.R. 709. waiting to declare himself for that party which Ant. C. 43. appear'd the strongest, established a colony at the confluence of the Saone and the Rhone. The inhabitants of this town came from Viennes formerly the capital of the Allobrogi, and afterwards a Roman colony. During the diffenfions and wars between the Roman generals, the natives of that country had laid hold of the opportunity to drive out from their antient capital, the new comers who oppressed them. These retired to the place where Plancus, by order of the Senate, built the town of Lyons. Vienne foon after returned under the Roman power; but looked with a jealous eye on the rapid increase of the new colony, which, by the advantage of its fituation, foon became very flourishing; and hence arose a rivalship between those two towns, which has lasted for feveral ages. The middle the said and them in filem, and distance was

the chair of the work plant with the second

Towns In

A. R. 709.

BOOK XLIX.

HE fecond triumvirate. A profeription. The ruin of the Republican party at Philippi. The death of Caffius and Brutus. An. Rom. 709, 710.

Thefe wined to tealples where Plantum, by

order of the Separe, built ore town of ... Octavius legally condemns all those who had killed Cufar, Seutas Pompeius and On. Domitius, who had no part in the action, are comprehended in the condemnation. Offavins puts to death Q. Gallius Prator of the City. He makes the Senate revoke the decree against Antony and Lepidus. The misfortune and death of Decimus. Octavius, Antony, and Lepidus, unite together. Their interview in an island of the Reno. They wrangle about those whom they ought to proscribe. The exchange of Cicero's bead, against those of the uncle of Antony and the brother of Lepidus. The project of a triumvi-rate. The marriage of Octavius with Anto-ny's daughter-in-law is resolved upon. Prelude to the massacres. Great terror in Rome. The death of the Conful Pedius. The entry of the three generals into Rome. A law to establish the Triumvirate. The edict of the proscription. The proscription of the Triumviri more numer-A cas than that of Sylla. A great many are proscribed on account of their riches. Affectation in the choice of the names placed at the head of the catalogue of the proscription. Ottavius as cruel

cruel as bis Collegues, or rather more fo. The death of Cicero. Investives of writers of all forts against Antony, upon the Subject of Cicero's death. The reason why Octavius has been spared. Character of Cicero. An expression of Brutus concerning bis death. C. Antonius killed by way of reprifal. The death of Quintus Cicero and bis son. L. Casar saved by bis fifter, Antony's mother. Lepidus consents to the escape of his brother Paulus. The death of Pollid's father-in-law, of the brother of Plancus, and of Toranius tutor to Octavius. Verres is proscribed. An example of the piety of Aneas renewed by the son of Oppius. Varro put into custody by Calenus. Atticus scratched out of the lift of the proscribed. An elogium of his prudence and bumanity. Meffala blotted out of the number of the proferibed. Particular observations upon some of the proscribed. Pulvia makes a figure in the profcription. The publick batred falls particularly upon Antony. The odious triumphs of Lepidus and Plancus. Refuges opened to the proscribed out of Italy, especially with Sentus Pompeius. Exactions of the Triumvirate. A tax imposed by them on the ladies Hortenfia's speech upon this subject. Ventidius is made Conful. His furprizing fortune. Civic crowns decreed to the Triumviri. The Triumviri fivear to observe the acts of Cafar, and make others also do the same. They appoint magistrates for several years.

CTAVIUS having obtained the Conful Official thip by the means already mentioned, logally conand thus united to the force of his arms, the who had title of publick authority, began to execute the killed defign he had always had at heart, tho' he had Cafar.

CON- Ant. C. 43.

A. R. 709 concealed it a great while, and undertook to Ant. C. 43. avenge the death of Cæfar. He took the advantage of the Confular authority to act legally in this affair. He caused the people to abfolve Dollabella, whom the Senate had declared an enemy to the publick; on account of the murder of Trebonius; and immediately established by virtue of a law, which was proposed by his Collegue Pedius, and supported by the votes of the people, a court of justice, or extraordinary commission, to enquire into the affaffination of Cæsar; and proceed to the tryal and condemnation of the affaffins and their accomplices.

They were fummoned in form, and an officer called them by their names, to appear at the foot of the Tribunal, but they were all abfent; for those among them who were at Rome when Octavius approached, had taken care to avoid the ftorm by a speedy flight. Thus not one of them answered to the summons. It is report-

Plut. Brut. ed that at the name of Brutus proclaimed by the officer, the whole multitude which fill'd the place burst into tears; and that the more eminent citizens held down their heads with shame and confusion. The affair however was pushed with no less vigour upon that account. There were great rewards promifed to the accusers. L. Corneficius accused Brutus; and Agrippa, who was always attached to Octavius, took upon him that odious office against Cassius. It very well agrees with the low flattering character of the historian Velleius, to boast as he has done, that Capito his uncle seconded Agrippa in this affair. They were all banished under the greatest penalty

which the Roman laws could impose: that is

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Printer of the city.

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to fay exile and confifcation of their goods. A. R. 709 Only one of the judges had the courage to abfolve Brutus without being afraid of the prefence of the young Conful, who affifted perfonally in court, to observe how every one voted. This judge so intrepid was called Cicilius Coronas, and was a Senator. Octavius perfifting always in the fame affectation of clemency, did not feem to take amiss the boldness of Cicilius; but soon after he banished

Amongst the accused was Casca, a Tribune of the people. As his office rendered his perfon facred, and put him beyond the reach of the law, Octavius caused him to be deprived of it by the votes of the Tribunes, upon a proposal of Titius, one of Casca's Collegues, who was willing to affift in vilifying an office with which he himself was invested.

It was not without design, that in the law Sextus of Pedius, to the murderers of Cæsar they Pompeius added their accomplices. This undetermined and Cn. addition gave Octavius the power, easily to who had include in the same condemnation with the real no part in authors of the death of his great uncle, those the action, who had no other crime than that of being fuf- are compected or formidable to him. There were fe- prehended in the converal of them no doubt; but in what remains demnation. of the history of those times I find only two mentioned.

The first is Sextus Pompeius, who, so far from having had any part in the conspiracy, had probably never heard of it before it was executed, being then in the farthest corner of Spain. But he was the last branch of an enemy's family, which Octavius defired to facrifice to his fafety. I reckon as the fecond Cn. VOL XV. Domitius

A. R. 709 Domitius Ahenobarbus, the fon of that L. Ant. C. 43 Domitius, who having always shown an irreconcileable hatred to Cæfar, was kill'd when he fled from Pharfalia. Antony, in Applan, politively affores us, that Cn. Domitius had

Civil. L. V. p. 707. Suet. Ner. C. 3.

Appian.

no hand in the murder of the Dictator : and the testimony of Suctonius is to the same purpofe. What nevertheless renders the thing

Cic. Phil. doubtful is, that Cicero in his fecond Philippie II. N. 27. ranks him amongst the conspirators. Perhaps he might be of the number of those who had the vanity immediately after the death of Cæfar to join with Brutus and Caffius in the Capitol, and wanted to partake of the glory of an action, in which they had run no rifk. In this case it is not furprizing that Cicero, speaking in praise of the conspiracy, thought it his duty to give a share of the honour to Domitius who longed for it; and, on the other hand, after the conspiracy was become punishable in the highest degree, it is still more easy to conceive that Domitius should carefully purge himself of it, and proclaim to all the world, which was very true, that he had no hand in it. It is certain however that he obtained belief, and, by the confent of Octavius arrived at the Confulfhip, nay his fon married into the family of the Cæfars, and became the uncle of Nero.

Ostavius . puts to death 2. Gallius Prætor of the city.

Tho' Octavius at that time feemed wholly engaged in avenging the death of his adoptive father, and in other respects put on a goodnatured appearance, he nevertheless discover d his cruelty with regard to Q. Gallius, at that time Prætor; and who fince the death of Suet. Aug. Cornutus had the jurifdiction of the city. Suetonius relates the fact with very aggravating cifeum-

27.

circumftances. He fays, that Gallius being A. R. 700) come to fainte the Conful, and carrying a pocket-book under his robe, was suspected of concealing a poignard there; and upon that alone Octavius, without examining into the affair, for fear of finding Gallius innocent, made them hurry him away, gave him the question like a slave; and, in fine, ordered them to put him to death, after having pull'd out his eyes with his own hands. I own I can hardly believe, that Octavius could be guilty of fo brutal a barbarity. He relates himself, in the memoirs which he composed of his life, that Gallius, having demanded a conference of him, endeavour'd to affaffinate him; that in consequence of this he was put in prison, from which being released on condition of leaving Rome, he periffied either by shipwreck, or by the hands of robbers on the high-way. This relation appears to me much more probable, only it is natural to think that Octavius difguiles under the notion of a shipwreck, or the attack by robbers, his order for affaffinating Gallius as foon as he was out of Rome.

It was no great affair to denounce condents He makes nation against those who had kill'd Cæsar; but the Senate to put the fentence in execution, they must revoke the vanquish twenty Legions which Brutus and decree a-Cassius had under their command. Octavius tony and was not fixing enough for fuch an enterprize Lepidus alone. He therefore refolved to put the last hand to the treaty of reconciliation and alliance, which had for fome time been negotiated between him, Antony, and Lepidus. He had been charged by the Senate to make war a-gainst them; and as he still seigned to obey the orders of the Senate, which he had cruffl-

A.R. 709 ed, he departed with his army with a delign, Ant. C. 43. as he faid, to fulfil his commission. But in his absence Pedius his Collegue proposed to the Senate, to revoke the decrees by which Antony and Lepidus had been declared enemies to their country. The abject Senators durst not reject the proposal, but they wanted to oblige Octavius to explain himself, tho' he had already sufficiently shewn his intentions, and they deferred coming to a resolution till they knew his opinion. He answered with his usual diffimulation, that he was not at liberty to determine in this affair according to his mind; that the foldiers obliged him to incline towards clemency. Thus the Senate re-established Antony and Lepidus in all their rights and dignities, and Octavius wrote to Antony, that he intended to join him against Decimus.

The miffortune and death of Decimus.

It was no difficult matter to destroy this only chief of the Republican party in the west. In an inftant all was turned against him. Pollio who arrived from Spain with two Legions joined Antony; and Plancus, who after the raising of the siege of Modena,, had testified a great deal of zeal for the cause of liberty and for Decimus, not only abandoned his unfortunate Colleague, but even undertook to betray him; and not being able to fucceed in it, he deferted to Antony with his four Legions.

Cic. ad Fam. X.

Decimus had a confiderable army, viz. ten Legions; but the strength of it was not proportioned to the number of troops, being almost all new levied. Not being able then to support himself against so many and such powerful enemies, he quitted Gaul, passed the Alps. and resolved to gain Illyria, in order to join M. Brutus in Macedonia; but Octavius

guarded

guarded all the passages. Decimus in so great A. R. 709. an extremity endeavour'd to take the rout of Ant. C. 43. Germany, and to make his way to Brutus through those barbarous nations, which in those days occupied that vast country. But the foldiers refuling to follow fo desperate a refolution, almost all left him, and ranged them-Telves some under the standard of Antony, and others under that of Octavius. There remained only three hundred Gaulish horse. which formed his guard, and which prefently dispersed themselves different ways, so that he was obliged to fly himfelf with only nine attendants. After having wandered in different parts, he was at last stope in Burgundy by robbers, who at his earnest desire conveyed him to the prince, or ruler of the country, who was called Camelus or Capenus, and whom Decimus look'd upon as a friend. This Gaul received him graciously, and with all the exter nal demonstrations of respect; but he privately informed Antony, who fent an officer named Furius, accompanied with some horsemen, with orders to bring him the head of the futhey and common enemies to Jubeue, tieving

Had it been possible for the unfortunate De Val. Max. cimus to have escaped, the generosity of a IV. 7. friend would certainly have faved him; for at the approach of those who were sent to kill him, he hid himself in an obscure retreat, and Antony's men having purfued him thither, Ser. Terentius, favoured by the obscurity of the place, presented himself instead of Decimus, and was almost killed for him; but Furius knew his victim and prevented the miftake. Decimus was then pull'd out of his lurking place, trembling, and he shewed in his Laft

the her.

HIRTIDS and VIBIUS, Confus.

Val. Max. IX. 13. Seneca Epift. 82.

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A. R. 709 last moments a timidity and love for life, which feemed to diffurb his reason. For he withdrew back his head from the fword, and when they ordered him to fland firm, "Yes ! I " will, Tays he, let me die if I do oot." very extraordinary expression in the circumstance he was then in. His head was carried to Antony who wanted to examine it, and then made them bestow the last honours upon it. Decimus perished the fecand of those who had attempted the life of Coolar. Soon afterwards Minucius Basilus, another of the conspirators, was murdered by his flaves, who could not bear his cruelty.

Ofavius, Antony and Lebidus unite together.

All the Roman forces on the establishment in Italy, Gaul, and Spain, were under the command of Octavius, Antony and Lepidus and there no longer remain'd an enemy in arms in all these countries, only as far as they were enemies to one another. For each of them having no other object than his own particular power, regarded the others with a jealous eye, and the delign of supplanting and destroying them reigned in his breaft. But in the cast they had common enemies to fubdue, the fear of which suspended the effect of their diffidence and reciprocal animofities. Before they could turn their arms against each other, it was necessary to exterminate Brutus and Caffius.

Plut. Anton.

Antony who had paffed the Alps as a fugitive, repassed them at the Head of seventeen Legions, including the troops of Lepidus, befides fix Legions which were left in Gaul under

om conftantins eam præbere Val. Max. 1X. 13.

Non folum cervicem admonitus, ipsis his verbis gladio subtraxit, veram eti- juravit. : ha vivoam, dabo.

the

the command of a very despicable man, Lu- A. R. 709. oins Varius, his bottle companion, whose strong propensity to drinking, had gain'd him the name of Cotyla, which fignifies apint. Lepidus and Antony, re-united together, advanced with a formidable army towards Bologna, whither Octavius also marched with almost an equal humber of troops. The three chiefs were refolved to meet and unite together from a motive already mentioned. They had only the necessary terms to consider of, and they treated of them themselves, without mediators and ministers. The affair was conducted in the

following manner.

At a small distance from Bologna there runs Their ina little river, in the middle of which there was the island an illand, which was judged the properest place of Rem. for holding the conferences. It feems that this Appian. river was that which is now called the Reno. Civil. 1. They took all imaginary precautions in order to prevent diffruits which were great, and but too well founded. They raifed two bridges, one of which joined the island to the right bank of the river, and the other to the left. Octavius and Antony brought each five Legions within a certain distance, which had been agreed upon, and which was equal on both fides. From thence they advanced as far as the bridges, accompanied only with three hundred men each, and there they stopped. Lepidus, who had had no personal quarrel with either, entered the island alone, and examined it, to convince himself that there was no ambuscade to fear. Then he gave the fignal to Octavius and Antony, who let out at the fame time to come to him, and at meeting pushed their precautions fo far as to fearch each other, for fear of arms be-F4 ing

A. R. 700 ing concealed under their clean.

Ant. C. 43, were three feats placed in the middle of the concealed under their cloaths on There island, where they all fat down, Octavius being in the middle, as Confut. to sman

They wrangle ought to proscribe. The exchange of Cicero's bead for uncle of Antonyana the brother of Lepidus. & Ant,

The greatest difficulty they met with, during the three days which the conferences lafted, about those was the choice of those whom they sought to facrifice to their refentment. As Antony and Octavius had made war against one tanother with a great deal of heat and animofity, a great many of those who were friends of the one were consequently enemies of the other; and those of the each, being willing to fatisfy his vengeance, made objections to the faving of those who had been of service to the other. Especially they debated for a long time, and very warmly, on Plut. Cic. the subject of Cicero. Antony declared, that he could neither confent to a reconciliation, or a peace, if they did not give him up a man, who had done him fo much mischief; and Lepidus was of the fame opinion. Octavius opposed it the first two days, but the third he confented; and by a most unnatural exchange, for the head of Cicero, Antony yielded to him that of L. Cæfar his uncle, and Lepidus that of his brother Paulus. . Thus, fays Plutarch, their passion and rage made them forget all fense of humanity; or rather they shewed by their example, that there is no brute more fierce than man, where power and passion are united. I'do not believe, fays the fame author

> ב אנסטוק דשו מושפשתיושי אם שפעש שיונים סמו שוו שום שלו γισμών μάλλοι δ' ἀπέδειξαι, καθαλλασσόμενοι Φόνες, ὁμοί-

> "Ουτως εξέπεσον υπό θυμά ώτερον της διαμείψεως ταίτης με έδεν ανθεώπη βηρίον ετιν ως μεν δις ελάμδανος ανήρην ης κυριώτερος, εξησίαν πάθει εδίδοσαν αδικώτεροι δε πιρε προσλαδόνος. Plut Cic. της φίλης ήσαι, ης απεκτίνου-ο Ουδίν υμότερος ηδό αγρι- σαι μηδό μιστήρη. Plus. Ans.

elsewhere, that ever there was a more atroci-A. R. 709. ous, or more unnatural thing done than the Ant. C. 43. exchange of which I speak. For trafficking together murder against murder, they became the butchers as well of those whom they gave up, as of those who were given up to them; and the injustice was the greater with respect to their friends, whom they condemned to death even without hating them. Further one may believe, that Antony and Lepidus did no great . violence to themselves, in facrificing the one his uncle, and the other his brother. They could not but take amiss their constant zeal for the government of the Republick, and being lately declared enemies to the publick by their Appian.

fuffrages, they had a right to profcribe them by Dio. way of reprifality of reproval . herleby and

As to the other points, the three tyrants a- The progreed well enough. It was concluded that jed of a Octavius should abdicate the Confulship, and Triumvigive it up to Ventidius for the remaining part of the year. That they should establish sovereign magistrates for the space of five years, under the title of Triumviri, reformers of the Republick, with confular authority. That they should immediately appoint the annual magistrates for the five years the Triumvirate was to last, without having recourse either to the confent of the Senate or people. They divided among them as their patrimony, all that part of the empire which they were already mafters of, or flattered themselves to be. -Lepidus was to have Spain, and Narbonne Gaul. Antony took that Gaul which was conquered by Cæsar, and the Cisalpine Gaul. Octavius had Africa, with Sicily and Sardinia; of which it was more easy to acquire the title dugrace, than

Respondence

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R. 709 than the real possession. For Cornificies really ant. C. 48 posses'd Africa, properly so called, in the name of the Senate; and we shall very foon Ice Sexus Pompeius take policifion of the silands of Sicily and Sardinia. But Octavits was obliged to content himfelf with this share, seeing his two affociates had more ancient breconfions, than the agreement made with him, to these provinces, which they appropriated to themselves. Italy was not comprehended in shis diffribution, as being the center of the empire, and the country common to them all, of which they called themselves the defendens and not the mafters. With regard to the provinces beyond fea, they were under the obedience of Brutus and Caffius, against whom war was refolved. In order to which Antony and Octavius were to take the command, and pass the fea, each of them at the head of twenty Legions; while Lepidus with three Legions was to remain in Rome, to keep dtaly in awe; eniting with the dignity and power of a Triamvir, that of Conful, in place of D. Brutus who was killed. In fine they determined the rewards which they were to give their foldiers, and which was as tyrantical as the rest of their proceedings. For they agreed to ellablish them in colonies, in eighteen towns in Italy, of which both the houses and lands were to be given them. And thefe towns, which were fo cruelly treated, were actually the largest and most beautiful of all Italy; such as Capua, Reggio, Venosa, Benevento, Rimini, and Cremona, which talt brought Mantua into the fame quered by Lader, and she Cataloine Good. Oc

Mantus, væ! miferæ nimiùn vicina Cremone.

Virg. Edog. IX. 28.

difgrace,

difference by being unluckily in its neighbour- A.R. 799 hood.

The three Chiefs obliged themselves by oath to execute those crimes which they had proiested, and communicated to their armies what had been concluded amongst them. Octavius, to whom all the honours were constantly yielded, because he was Conful, read to the troops which were affembled together, all the articles of the treaty, excepting that which regarded the heads of the great men they intended to out off. The foldiers celebrated, with shouts of joy, the reconciliation of the two Generals, and those of the different armies saluted each other as friends. And, further to confirm by a do- The marmeltick alliance, the peace which yielded them rioge behormon Official and Cladian Ameriage tony's between Octavius and Clodia, Antony's daugh-daughter ter-in-law, that is to fay, the daughter of Ful- is refolwed wia his wife by Clodius, Cicero's enemy. This upon. young lady was hardly marriageable, and Octavius had already entered into engagements with the daughter of Servilius Hauricus. He conlented however to the proposal which was made to him, trufting to the events to releafe Suet, Aug. him from that contract, if afterwards he should 62. find it not agreeable.

The three combined Generals were to eager Prelude to to feed blood, that in order to commence their the maffamurders, they only waited till they should ar-terror in rive at Rome. They feat before them a num- Rome. The ber of foldiers, who had orders to kill twelve, death of the others lay seventeen, of their principal enemies, Goful Pethe chief of whom was Cicero. Four were furprized, and maffacred immediately; the others concealed themselves, or fled. And as the affassines spread themselves over the city to search

A. R. 709 for them, running along the streets, and visit-Ant. C. 43 ing the houses, the terror and consternation amongst all the illustrious Citizens were exceeding great. They neither knew the number nor names of the unfortunate victims deflined to the flaughter. Thus every one believed himself to be in danger, and despair urged many of them to attempt the burning of their own houses, or set fire to the publick edifices, in order not to die unrevenged. The Conful Pedius, who had remained in Rome, took an infinite deal of pains to appeale the commotion, calm the spirits, and persuade those who were afraid to wait till the next day: and as foon as day-light appeared, he caused to be fixed up the names of those who were condemned to suffer He affured them by the publick faith that there was not another person who had any thing to fear And he acted fincerely; for he was not let into the fecret of his mafters. The fatigue which he underwent this night of terror and difmay was fo great, that he funk under it, and died the day following.

The entry These were only preludes to the calamities of the three which threatned Rome. Prefently the authors Generals of the publick miseries arrived, and made their into Rome. entries on three different days. Octavius the first, then Lepidus, and last of all Antony; each being attended with a Pretorian Cohort or Guard, and one Legion. Thus the City was entirely filled with foldiers, which they took care to distribute in the most important posts. Then P. Titius, Tribune of the people, proestablish the posed the fatal law which established three sovereign magistrates, reformers of the Republick, with the confular dignity, for five years, viz. M. Antonius, Lepidus, and Octavius, who took

Triumvirate.

took possession of this office the twenty-seventh A.R. 709. of November following, and held it to the last Tab. Veof December of the fixth year, reckoning from tus, apud their commencement, which is a single seems as Pigh.

One may very well imagine that the votes of the people. were favourable to this law which was proposed. They even made publick rejoicings for it, as for a happy event; and the Citizens again put on the robe of peace, at the approaches of a procription more cruel than a war. The Triumviri loft no time in publishing the edict which has been transmitted to us by Appian, and I believe the reader will not take it amiss, if I transcribe here an act very fingular in its kind, and drawn up by an able hand, who was at a great deal of pains, tho' without fuccess, to disguise the blackness of the thing, by the most specious colours possible to make use of.

After the names and qualities of the Trium- The edit viri, followed the tenor of the decree, in these of the preterms. " If wicked men, by the most perfi-scription.

"dious conduct, were not humble and fup-

" pliant, when they stand in need of clemency, " and, after they have obtained it, enemies to

" their benefactors, and capable of attempting

" their lives; we should not have seen those

" persons become the murderers of Cæsar,

" whom he had faved by his mercy, after

" having vanquished them, whom he had also " admitted among the number of his friends.

" and had loaded with all forts of favours,

"offices, and honours; and we ourselves

" should not be under the necessity of acting

" a severe part against those who have offend-

" ed us, and declared us enemies to the pub-

" lick. But having learned both by our own 5 W.

A. R. 709. " experience, and the treatment which Caefar Ast. C. 43. " has received, that there is a degree of wick-" edges which no clemency can overcome, we " rather chuse to prevent our enemies, than " to wait those evils which they have prepared or for us. Our revenge therefore will neither appear unjust, cruel, nor excessive to any one " who confiders what we have fuffered, and e especially what Cæsar suffered. He was " Dictator and great Pontiff; he subjected the or most formidable nations to this Empire; and he first of all endeavoured to cross the " mighty ocean, and discover to the Romans at lands before to them unknown. And yet " this great man has been murdered in full Se-" nate, in a facred place, and in the view of the Gods themselves. Nay, they even car-" ried their wanton barbarity fo far as to flab " him three and thirty times with their poig-" nards. And those who committed this " crime, were men whom he had vanquished, " who owed him their lives, and even forme of them mentioned in his will amongst the " number of his heirs. The reft, inftead of " punishing so horrible a crime, have invested " the affaffines with commands and governments of provinces, of which they have " known fo well to take the advantage, that they have raised the publick money, and with it have levied troops against us; nay, even demanded it of nations at all times " enemies to this Empire. They have burnt or destroyed to the very foundations, those towns allied to the Romans which they could on not bring over to their party; they have in-" timidated others, and are preparing to em-" ploy those forces against us and their counec try. " We

We have already punished forme of these A. 2. 700

" werab others of them fuffer the just punish-

ment they defenve. All the West has sub-

thing only remains for us to do, and that is

e attended with difficulty; which is to pale

the fat and complete our revenge on such

" of the marderers as bave invaded the

" Eaftern provinces haged oras of was one

" As we are just upon the point of making the war for you, which obliges us to leave Rome, in would not be agreeable neither to " our interests nor yours, to leave behind us the enemies which we have here in a condi-"tion to take advantage of our absence by e observing the uncertain events of war. It would be likewife dangerous for us in fuch so preffine circumstances to lase time by dew lay. Wherefore we have resolved to rid " ourselves of thermall at once, and to render 45 to them immediately that mischief which " they intended us, in declaring us and our ar-" mies enemies to our country. Thus these so unjust and violent men condemned an infiof nite mamber of Citizens to perish with us. "But we shall be more moderated No order, us no company, no fociety of people shall be " the object of our revenge. The choice we defhall make shall not even comprehend all 4 those who have been at variance with us, or "who have endeavoured to hart us. Riches, of folendor, and honours feel be reckoned no "crimes by uses and the it is netural that " three should have a greater number of enemies chan offe, yet the punishments which " we shall instich shall not affect formany perfons Ant. C. 43 "General, who, like us, in a civil differtion" " hadunder taken to reform the Republick, and whom you have furnamed bappy on account of his fuccess. We shall only punish the most wicked and the most culpable; in all " which we have your interest in view, as " much as our own. For while the Chiefs of the state are divided and form different par-" ties, you who are placed in a middle flation, " must of consequence be great sufferers. These " are our motives; and further we are obliged, to procure some satisfaction to our foldiers who have been ill used, and declared ene-" mies to their country, by those who had " formed a project for destroying us all together. We might as foon as we arrived, have " executed those whom we had condemned." "But out of regard to you we strove rather to or profcribe them, than to furprize them at a time when they did not expect, in order that it might not be left in the power of the of foldiers to extend the effect of their revenge in their passion to those who ought to be exe empted from it; but that having a lift quite plain, both by the number and names of those whom they have orders to punish, they " may abstain from doing violence to any bewinder of our revenge. The challes "Upon these accounts, and for the good

"and advantage of the publick, we forbid all and every one of you to receive any of those whose names are mentioned in the list sub- joined to this order, to protect them, or be assisting to them in their slight. Whoever shall give them any aid or assistance, or shall hold any kind of correspondence with them,

" shall be immediately added to the number A. R. 709. of the proferibed, without being allowed

any manner of excuse, or means of defence. Whoever shall kill any of the profcribed,

" upon bringing their heads, shall receive as " their fee a hundred thousand sesterces, and

if a flave, forty thousand, together with his " liberty, and the rank of a Citizen the same

s as his mafter. The fame rewards are pro-

mifed to those who shall discover any of the profcribed, and the names of those who shall

" receive those rewards shall not be registered.

of fo that he need never be afraid of being "known afterwards." Add un son and a tuli vo

I shall not stop to make a great many reflections on this bloody act, the horrid cruelty of which appears at first fight, and is extremely shocking, in spite of the frivolous pretexts with which they endeavoured to palliate it.

I shall only remark first, that, according to The pro-Dio, what the Triumviri boast of confining feription of themselves to a less number of proscribed than the Trium-Sylla, is false. That historian affures us possi- wiri more tively to the contrary; and the thing itself is than that very probable, because any of the three was full of Sylla. as bad as the author of the first proscription. This difference produced another effect very fingular and melancholy. When Sylla shewed this barbarous example, his friends, at leaft, had nothing to fear. But it was not the fame in the present case. As Antony and Octavius had had great quarrels with each other, and were even at war against one another, the friends of the one were the enemies of the other: so that to have been attached to either. was a fufficient reason for being proscribed. They were weak friends, and dangerous ene-VOL. XV. mies.

A. R. 709 mies, facrificing these who had done them service the more easily, because both of them intended, whenever it should be in their power. to attack and destroy each other, whence each of them endeavoured to remove from his colleague, whom he looked upon as a rival, the greatest numbers possible of his creatures and affiltants; and they were not afraid of being deprived themselves of any of their supports, provided they weakened their antagonist. The fame may be faid of Lepidus, who was neither less ambitious, not more ferupulous than the two others, but only had less parts. We see by this, that the number of those proscribed by the Triumviri must have been carried very high, though we cannot exactly determine it. Sylla had affected no kind of mystery in his affair; he even gloried in exposing to the eyes of the world four thousand seven hundred Citizens, of all ranks and conditions, which he had caused to be put to death. But Octavius, when he became mafter of the Empire under the name of Augustus, was ashamed of his past etuelties. It is very probable that he entleavoured to destroy the monuments of them; and the writers have not dared to discover what the prince endeavoured to conceal. We find Plut. An the number of Senators reckoned at one hunton. & Ap- dred and thirty, according to some, and three hundred, according to others. Appian reckons Liv. Epiff. swo thousand knights. As to the number of Citizens of the lower order, we are quite in the dark tedacon eno dilibra tian de nove

pian. CXX.

A great many pro-Scribed on theirriches.

My fecond remark regards the express declaration which the Trium viri made in their edict. to proferibe no body on account of their riches. account of There could be nothing more opposite to their e ising

real intentions. They greatly wanted in oney, A. R. 709. withour which they could not make heat against Brutus and Caffius, who had acquired great treasures, especially the last, in the rich countries of Affa and Syria. Thus it is fall more true with reflect to the profeription of the Triumvirate than that of Sylla, that the greatest of all crimes was to be rich, and by this means afford to their avaritions tyrants the hopes of

The names which appear'd at the head of Affectation the catalogue of profcription, declared at once in the the entalogue of protectiption, declared at office of the whole fury of the Triumviri, and were fig-the names hals of terror to demonstrate that no body ought to be placed to expect that any confideration could be capa- at the head ble of moving them. The first who were pro- of the caferibed were Paulus a brother of Lepidus, and proferipii-L. Czefar the uncle of Antony. Next follow-on. ed Plotins the brother of Plancus, and L. Quintius, father-in-law to Pollio. Tho' in the mean time, in another lift, at the fide of the former, Planers and Polito were defigned Confuls, the one for the year following, the other for the fourth year after the Triumviri were established. And as if Octavius had been apprehensive of degenerating from these examples of inhumanity, besides Cicero, whom he was so much obliged to, he proferibed C. Toranius a friend of his Suet. Aug. farher, who had been his own rutor when he ous persons, and those whose names abilly a caw

It is then to little purpose that some writers Odavin have attempted to take part of the blame from as cruel as Octavius, and to make a diffraction between his col-him and his Colleagues. Suctonius informs or rather us, that at first he actually opposed the project more fo. of the profcription; but when once it was refolved upon, he pushed it with more vigour than

A. R. 709 than the other two; and whereas Antony and Ast. C. 43. Lepidus allowed themselves to relent on several occasions, that he was almost always inexorable. After the profcription was executed, Lepidus thought they ought to make a kind of excuse to the Senate for the past, and give them room to expect for the future a conduct full of gentleness and clemency, because he looked upon his revenge as fatisfied; but Octavius, on the contrary, declared, that if he had put an end to the profcription, it was still without tying up his hands, or prescribing a law to him

which might confine his liberty. The slock wall

Dio, and especially Appian, has left us a great many observations upon the events of this profcription, and the adventures of the profcribed, who did not all perish. A great many faved themselves by different ways, which necessity, very justly called the mother of invention, pointed out to them, or their friends, their neighbours and domesticks. And with regard to those who could not escape the cruelty of their affaffins, spread all over Rome, and in the other towns and country of Italy, their melancholy fortune was attended with circumstances extremely interesting. In order to fhun prolixity I shall not here transcribe all the particular facts which are mentioned in authors, but only fuch as regard the most illustrious persons, and those whose names are the most celebrated in hiftory. I shall content myfelf with a general observation from Velleius, which does but little honour to human nature, which is, that commonly speaking, the pro-

* Id notandum est, suisse filiorum nullam. Adeo dis-in proscriptos uxorum sidem sicilis est hominibus utcumfummam, libertorum me- que conceptae spei mora. Vell.

diam, servorum aliquam, II. 67.

nent

fcribed

fcribed found in their wives, in those cruel cir. A. R. 709.

cumstances, a perfect fidelity, in their freedmen Ant. C. 43.

and slaves, a tollerable one, but none at all in their sons, so dangerous a thing is hope for seducing the human mind, and capable of violating the most sacred rights, whenever they become hinderances to our ambition.

Amongst the victims of the cruelty of the The death Triumviri, Cicero, on a great many accounts, of Cicero. was the first. He had been proscribed toge-Sen. ther with his fon, his brother, his nephew, all Suafor. VI. those who belonged to him, and who had any Vell. II. connection with him either by friendship or 66. parentage. He could not promife himself a Plut. Cic. better fate, and he "knew very well, that he Dio. could no more hope for favour from Antony, than Brutus and Cassius could expect it from young Cæfar. For this reason he left Rome at the approach of the Triumviri, and his first design was to cross the sea with his brother, to go to Macedonia, to Brutus's camp. They travelled together some time, mutually condoling their bad fortune. But as their departure had been very precipitate, and they wanted a great many things, Quintus turned back to make more ample provision, and Cicero continued his rout towards Gaeta, where having heard no news of his brother he imbarked. Sometimes the contrary winds, and

M. Cicero sub adventum
Triumvirorum cesserat urbe,
pro certo habens, id quod
erat, non magis Antonio
eripi se, quam Cæsari Brutum & Cassium posse. Liv.
Aliquoties in altum pro-

Aliquoties in altum provectum quum modò venti adversi retulissent, modò ipfe jactationem navis czco volvente fluctu pati non posfet, tzdium tandem eum & fugz & vitz cepit: regreffusque ad superiorem villam, quz paulo plus mille passibus à mari abest, Moriar, inquit, in patria sepe servata.

A. B. 709 fometimes the fatigues of the feal, which his had. C. 43. body, quite spent with anxiety could not support, obliged him to disembark. At last he found himself quite tired of stying and of life itself, and resolved to go to a country house which he had about a mile from the seal. If I must, says he, die in my country, which I

have faved more than orice," As frenom A

Superstition, according to Plutarch, had a hand in this resolution of Clicero's a for a flock of crows alighted upon the yard of the weffel in which Cicero was, and began to peck at the ends of the ropes, which Cicero taking for a bad omen, defired them to put him on thore. The crows still followed him, and while he was in one of the chambers of his country house lying on a couch, they flocked anew about the window, and one of them even went up to his couch, and with his beak pulled the cap from Cicero's heady The generality of mankind are greatly addicted to the marvelous. and especially with relation to the tragical deaths of great men. These trifling circumfrances, which doubtlefs have a great mixture of the fabulous, very little deferve to be related by fo judicious a writter as Plutarch. am forry too that he should have attributed that facilith thought to Cicero of going to Rome, flealing privately into the house of Octaxius, and killing himself before the household Gods of that ungrateful man, in order to bring down upon him the wrath and vengeance of heaven. But the fear of the torment, fay they, to which he thereby must expose himself, hindered him from doing it. As for my part all this feems to me to be adjusted to the secretary sinteres item from molheatre,

advers reculificat, mode for

Theatre, and I confine myfelf to the more A. R. 709.

fimple account of Titus Livius.

It appears, that Cicero's fervants pull'd him out in a manner by force from his house, to endeavour to conceal him. But they had not time; for when they were upon the road, those who fearched for him to kill him overtook them. Some report that they were directed by a freedman of Q. Cicero, named Philologus, who had been inftructed by the very perfon whom he betrayed. But the fact is not at all certain. The murderers had at their head a military tribune named Popilius, who had formerly been defended by Cicero in a doubt-ful cause; and in recompence of this service, earneftly demanded a commission to kill his benefactor. Cicero's flaves were willing to defend their mafter, but he order'd them to ftop the litter, and to let him fuffer quietly what his cruel fate rendered inevitable. In the mean time fixing his eyes upon the affairfins, he thrust his head out at the door of the litter, and the Centurion Herennius immediately wounded him, while the foldiers themselves, touched at the misfortunes and firmness of a man fo worthy of respect, turned down their

Satis conflat servos fortiter fideliterque paratos fuisse ad dimicandum : ipfum deponi lecticam, & quietos pati quad fors iniqua coperet, juffifie. Propimenti ex lectica, præbentique immotam cervicem, caput præcifum eft. Nec fatis stolidæ crudelitati militum fuit. Manus quoque, scripssse aliquid in Antonium exprobrantes, præ-

ciderunt, Ita relatum caput ad Antonium, justuque ejus inter duas manus in Roftris positum, ubi ille Conful, ubi fæpe Confularis, ubi eo ipio anno adversus Antonium, quanta nulla unquam humana vox cum admiratione eloquentiæ, auditus fuerat. Viz attollentes præ lacrymis oculos homines intueri trucidata membra ejus poterant. assess of meeting the country of the

A.R. 709 eyes and covered their faces. This was not enough to fatisfy the brutal barbarity of the Centurion, for he cut his hands again, even reproaching him before his death of having wrote against Antony. Plutarch assures us, that in this he executed the orders of that cruel

Triumvir.

Popilius carried the head and hands of Cicero to Antony, who was not at all afraid to feast his eyes upon so horible a spectacle, and after having examined attentively, and even with great burits of laughter, the frightful and lamentable remains, order'd them to be placed on the Orator's tribunal, faying, that, as to him, the profcription was now finished. head of Cicero was then exposed between his two hands on the fame place, where fo many times, both during his Confulship and afterwards, and in fine, the last year of his life, in his speech against Antony, had displayed an eloquence, which no man ever equalled, or, at least, surpassed. All the spectators were affected, and durst not raise their eyes bathed in tears to those objects, the fight of which pierced them excessively with grief. Antony by this intended to infult the memory of him whom he hated, and he did not fee that he dishonoured himself by this shameful revenge, which proved his infolence in prosperity, and the unworthy abuse which he made of his power. They affure us that he had the baseness to crown with his own hand Popilius the chief of the murderers, and that he fuffered that wretch to place upon the Orator's tribunal

^{*} Καθάπες εις τον νεκρον ν - υσίαν επιδεικνύμενος. Plut. Φείζων, υχ αυθον ενυθείζονα τη Anton. τύχη κ καθαισχύνονα την εξ-

wies bas

his own picture adorn'd with a crown, at the A.R. 709 fide of the deplorable remains of him whom he had kill'd. dr anichab a je

Fulvia, formerly married to Clodius, but now the wife of Antony, and besides personally offended at Cicero, who had more than once expressed herself fatyrically against him, vented against his head that passion and rage with which she would have tormented him while alive, if the had had it in her power. Before it was fixt upon the tribunal, she placed it before her, loaded it with reproaches, fpit upon it, and, having put it on her knee, she opened the mouth, and pulled out the tongue, which she pierced with her bodkin; an action worthy fuch a fury as this woman had always been, and continued to be to the end of her march has preferred to u

Posterity has very well revenged Cicero up- leveline on Antony's outrages. No death could ever of writers be more bitterly deplored, than that of him against who had done so much honour to letters. Antony, Poets, orators, and historians have all fignaliz-upon the ed their grief for the melancholy end of Cicero; fubjest of and by a very natural confequence have ex-death. pressed an extreme indignation against his murderer. We find in a collection of Seneca Sen. the father, a great many fragments of orators Suzfor.VI and antient historians who have exercised their talents upon this subject. Velleius, as great a flatterer as he was, allows himself here to be transported with, zeal so far as to interrupt the thread of his narration, and leave the stile of an historian to inveigh against Antony's Plin. VII. cruelty. Pliny the elder expresses himself very 30. ftrongly upon it in a few words, affirming that Cicero was not profcribed by Antony, but on reofus. Ingenium & ope-क्षा महा सह है जो कि प्रतिस्थान स्थान a budia

A. R. 709, the contrary, that Antony proferibed himfelf, by covering himfelf with infamy in the eyes of all posterity. Martial a declares that Antony appeared to him more criminal by the death of Cicero alone, than by all the carnage of the reft who were proferibed; and that there was no more room to reproach the wretched Pothinus, murderer of the great Pompey.

The reason wby Ottavius bas been spared.

Octavius is spared in all these reproaches not because he did not deserve a share of them's but because of his becoming emperor, and their being afraid, even under his fuecesfors, to fliew any want of respect to his memory. And befides that he had never acted directly against Cicero, and had himself opposed, the weakly, the defign of the profeription, he render d'him justice afterwards to à certain de-Plut. Cic. gree; and Plutarch has preserved to us a memorable passage on this subject. He tells us that feveral years afterwards, when Octavius governed the empire under the title of August tus, he entered haftily the chamber of one of his grandfons, who happened to have a book

of Cicero in his hand. The young prince a larmed, concealed the book under his robe. Augustus took it from him, and read a good deal of it. After which he returned it faying, " he was a man of gunius, my fon, and a lover of his country." Hoffel moints one

Auct. de Cauf. corr. Eloq. n. 17. The charader of

Cicero was murthered the feventh of Del cember, in the last month of the fixty fourth year of his age, So that according to Titus his narrand

Antoni, Phario nihil objecture Pethino, O 1 10 Cicero. . Et levice esbuit, quem Cicemne, mocens. Vilour

Martial V. 69.

10 Vixit trea & dexaginta immetura quidem more vis annos, ut, si vis absuisset, ne deri possit. Ingenium & operibus :

Living whose pencil I shall here borrow to AR 700 trace in miniature the portrait of fo famous a Amic. 43 man his death could not have appear'd altogether premature, provided it had been naturaid blis fubline talent has difplayed refelf in immortal performances, and been recome penfed with the greatest honours. Fortune was for a long time favourable to him; but during a course of prosperity, having fuffered feveral cruel differences; banishment, the fall of the party to which he was attached, the loss of his daughter, and at last a tragical and cruel end, of all his advertities the supported none with that firmness which becomes a man of courage, excepting only his death." And even his death, to judge equitably of it, may ap- and to may pear lefs undeferved, and atrocious, because he only fuffer'd from his enemy what he would have made him fuffer, had he had the opport purity and power in his hands. After all, let us compensate his faults with his virtues, and we shall find that he was a great man, full of fire and elevation of spirit, for ever to be remembered, and not to be fufficiently praifed unless by another Cicero. and part and

Thus Titus Livius expresses himself, who,

is Antonius his prhoner, and brother

ribas, & premits operum, fperæ: & in longo tenore folicitatis, magnis interim ictus vulneribus, exulio, ruina partium pro quibus fleterat, filie morte, exite tem tristi atque acerbo, omnium adversorum nihil ut viro dignum erat tulit, prater erit. mortem : quæ vere aftimagni 1 2000 dann deralik

mimus indigna videri potuit. felis. Inte fortune die pro- quod à victore inimico nil crudelius passus erat, quam quod ejuldem fortuna compos iple fecifiet. Si quis tau men virtutibus vitia penfarit, vir magnus, acer, meniotahilis fuit, & in cujus laudes Cicerone laudatore opus fu-

like

La rest has

was Outer

I de la constante

A. R. 709 like a great - man, praifes without referve the Aut. C. 43 merit and talents of others. Pollio, tho partial enough elsewhere to Cicero, makes use of almost the same language. Only to that weakness of mind in disasters with which that great genius has been reproached by all those who have mentioned him, he adds a want of moderation in prosperity. Cicero, in whatever fituation he was, whether happy or miferable, never thought that it could change ; very different from that well prepared heart mentioned by Horace which hopes in advertity, and in prosperity fears the return of bad forwith that in anels twented becomes a ro-sour

An exprestus concerning his death. C. Antonius kill'd by prifals. Plut. Brut.

Brutus, who was always a little rigid in his fion of Bru fentiments, judged very severely of the death of Cicero. He said he was more ashamed of the cause of it, than afflicted at the loss. This expression has no need of a commentary, after those fragments of his letters which I have warefre quoted, in which he censures Cicero's complaifance to Octavius with fo much eagerness. Nevertheless he revenged his death, and to appeafe the manes of Cicero and Decimus, who were both his friends, and one of them his relation, he fent orders to Hortensius to put to death Caius Antonius his prisoner, and brother of the Triumvir. He had spared him till that time out of pure generofity, without hearken-

· Candidiffimus omnium

Utinam moderatius fecundas res, & fortiùs adversas

ferre potuisset! Nam utræmagnorum ingeniorum æfti- que quum venerant ei, mumator T. Livius, Sen. ibid. tari eas non posse rebatur. Afin. Poll. op. Sen. ibid.

Sperat infestis, metuit secundis Alteram fortem bene preparatum 1997 300 : matiom Hor. Od. II. 10. Pectus.

saved by

bis hier. daton

ing to the repeated inftigations of Cicero, who A. R. 709. advised him not to trust him from the begin- Ant. C. 43. ning. Caius, during the time he was under the power of Brutus, had made two different attempts to raise a sedition among the troops of his vanquisher. The cruelty of his brother appeared to Brutus a decifive reason for sacrificing him, and I do not observe that he is blamed for it in hiftory, although those reprifals, which certainly put no ftop to the unjust violence of the enemy, feem to me but very little conformable to humanity.

The fon of Cicero, who had been profcribed together with his father, was now with Brutus, and not only escaped the fury of the proscription, but was afterwards advanced to the Confulfhip by Octavius, as we shall see in its pro-

per place. There en on the same another this

toldiers

Quintus Cicero and his fon had not fo happy The death a fate. The fon was taken first, having been of Quintus betrayed by his flaves. His behaviour had bis for.
been the cause of frequent vexations to his fa-Appian. mily; and Cicero's letters to Atticus are full Dio. of complaints against him. Nevertheless on this last and melancholy occasion, he gave proofs of a filial tenderness which can never be enough commended. He concealed his father, and tho' deliver'd to the hands of the executioners, who tormented him in order to make him discover the secret, he obstinately kept a generous filence. But the father who was not far off, and heard all that paffed, could not endure that his fon should be fo cruelly treated on his account, and therefore he discovered himself. There was a struggle between them who should die first, but the off fire the contract be a fire of the execu-

HIRTOUS and Withus Confels.

94

A. R. 1709 executioner fettled that point by cutting both their throats at the fame time on mid belives

L. Cafar faved by bis fifter, Antony's mother.

The course

cathing to Greet and

his fere

Applian.

The uncle of Antony was faved by his fifter Julia, the mother of the Triumvir. This lady received her brother into her house, where he continued quiet for forme time; because the Conturious respected the mother of their generals There was one perfor however, audacious enough to come with the foldiers, and attempt to force an entry into the house. Julia pirefented herfelf at the gate, and attretching out her arms to hinder the affaffing from paffing; you shall not kill Crefar, fays the to them, " till you have first killed her who gave life to " your general." However well accustomed the foldiers were to infolence, and all forts of cruelties, they stopped short at her generous declaration, and durft go no further. Then Julia, to deliver her brother entirely out of danger, went to the Forum, where Antony was, fitting on his tribunal with his two Colleagues, and addressing herself to him, " I come to ad-" cufe myfelf, days the, of concealing id. " Cæfar. Order me to be killed, fince death is also denounced against those who succour " any of the profcribed." Antony answered, that the was a better fifter than the had thewn herfelf a mother, fince, the fine diti not hinder L. Cæfar from declaring her fon an enemy to the publick, the nevertheless wanted to refere him from a just vengeance. He could not however refule his mother, and La Gaefar by dier means enjoyed a perfect fafety. Jon bluos

Paulus had not fuch great difficulty in obtaining favour from his brother Lepidus; for without any noise or buftle, a tacit commission of the Triumvir, and the respect which the foldiers

Lepidus consents to the escape of bis brother Paulus.

foldiers had for the brother of their general, A.R. 200 gave him an opportunity of going out of Italy, He went to Brutus's camp, and after the battle of Philippi he retired to Miletus, and there passed the remainder of his days, without deigning to accept of that liberty which was granted him to return to Rome.

There are fill remaining three of the num- The deaths ber of the profcribed, whose fate I ought to of Pollio's give an account of. The father-in-law of Pol-father-inlio, having been happy enough to gain the fea the brothe and to embark, was overtaken by a ftorm of Plances, He was seized with a very strange kind of de- and of tospair, if we may believe Appian , and in order ranno, that he might not perifh by shipwreck, he threw Ochevias. himself into the sea. I find in the same author, amongst those whose ungrateful fons demanded and urged their death, one C. Toranius, an antient Prætor, who appears to be the tutor of Octavius whom I have mentioned. He was killed by the foldiers. The death of Plin. Plotius, the brother of Plancus was fingular in XIII. 3. this respect, that he was discovered by the VI. 8. odour of the perfumes which he used even in his retreat. However he was not found at once; and his flaves, from a very commendable fidelity, choic rather to fuffer the torture than discover their master. Plotius however delivered them by discovering himself, and was killed. locostboss carvin

Amidst this great number of innocent per Verre is fons who deferved a better fate, one can hard profcribed. ly much lament a famous criminal, whose injustice and violence render him noworthy of all pity. This is Vierres, who was accused feveral years before by Cicero, and reduced to banish himself; but afterwards returned to Rome, no - Tree

doubt

XXXIV.

A. R. 709. doubt by virtue of that law of Cæfar which recalled all exiles. The fame mad paffion which he had for those curious trifles, which had made him commit fo many crimes, was also the cause of his death. He had three beautiful vales of Corinthian brass, which Antony paffionately longed for; and upon Verres's refusing to give them to the Triumvir, he was profcribed.

An examble of the piety of Aneas renewed in the fon of Oppius. Appian.

With fuch a number of fo many melancholy objects, let us mingle some which are more chearful, and amongst so many crimes, give place to some instances of virtue. There is none appears to me more worthy of record, than that of a fon, who renewed the example of the piety of Æneas, with the like fuccess. His father Appius, aged and infirm, feeing himself proscribed, did not think that what remained of a languishing life was worth the pains of preferving, and was willing to wait for the murderers quietly at his own house. He could not however relift the pressing instances and zeal of his fon, who took him on his shoulders, and, loaded with this precious burden, went all over the city, unknown to fome, and commanding the respect of others by the beauty of so commendable and generous an action. As foon as they got out of Rome, the fon, fometimes affifting his father to walk, and fometimes carrying him, when the fatigue was too great, conducted him to the sea, where he made him embark for Sicily. This admirable inftance of filial piety shone forth in full lustre at a time, when, as I have faid, according to Velleius, all was full of examples of unnatural fons. The people preferved the remembrance of it, and fome time afterdonbe

afterwards, when Rome was quieted, they made A. R. 709. young Oppius an edile. But the goods of Ant. C. 43. his father having been confiscated, the edile had not wherewithal to defray the expence of the games belonging to that office; on which account the workmen charged nothing for their labour, and the spectators, taxing themselves willingly each according to his ability, threw upon the * Theatre a large quantity of filver, to make good, with regard to Oppius, the in-

justice of fortune.

F. Calenus, who had always been attached, Parro but as may easily be observed, to Cæsar and An-into custody tony, acted as a faithful friend with regard to by Calenus. the learned Varro. The merit of this extraordinary man, who had diftinguished himself in arms as well as in letters, could not fail of rendering him odious to, and fuspected by the Triumviri. Besides, he had been a friend and partizan of Pompey; and in short Antony, during Cæsar's life-time, had taken from him part of his property. The friends of Varro disputed the honour of supporting him in his difgrace, and Calenus obtained the preference. He carried him to a country-house, where Antony frequently came, without suspecting in the least that a proscribed person of that importance lodged under the same roof with him. Thus Varro paffed all the time of danger in fafety; after which he appeared again, having fuffered no other damage from the profcrip- A. Gel. tion; than the pillaging of his library. He iii, 10.

South Charles of the same

sald for var a consect a compared throughput consecution of

^{*} The Orchestrea is the part the Senators and Vestals of the Roman theatre where fat.

the pro-

feribed.

tici vita.

A. R. 709 lived a long while after, and continued his Ant. C. 43. learned labours as long as he lived, that is, to

the age of a hundred years.

Atticus, an intimate friend of Cicero and rased out of Brutus, but who nevertheless had done very effential fervices to the family of Antony in his misfortunes, received then the reward of fo Corn. Ne-moderate a conduct. He imagined he was pos in At-threatened, and not without foundation, for he was really profcribed. He therefore wifely refolved to conceal himself, and his refuge was the house of P. Volumnius, who owed him very great and recent obligations. He shut himself up there with Q. Gellius Canus, who had been his friend from his infancy, and refembled him perfectly in the gentleness of his manners. Volumnius was carefied by Antony, and the companion of his pleasures. However, he had no occasion to make use of his credit with him in favour of Atticus. This Triumvir, who was doubtless very cruel, but rather through paffion and fury, than from his natural disposition, which was capable of generofity, remembered how much he owed to Atticus, and being informed of the place where he concealed himfelf, he wrote to him with his own hand, affuring him that he had nothing to fear, neither for himfelf nor for Gellius Canus, for that by his orders they were both rafed out of the lift of the profcribed. This was a double joy to Atticus to fave his companion, whose friendship, which commenced when they were at school, constantly increased till they

were both become old.

CEVER PERSONAL PROPERTY AND A RESIDENCE AND A

C. Nepos

[.] In eodem lectulo & spi- operum cursus exstinctus est. ritus ejus, & egregiorum Val. Max. viij. 7.

C. Nepos commends greatly on this occa-A.R. 709.
fion the prudence of Articus; and the the life A panegywhich he has composed of this illustrious Ro-rick on bis man knight, is not void of panegyrick, I own prudence that I subscribe more willingly to his elogiums, and bumathan to the invidious observations of the Abbe de S. Réal. Why should not one adopt, for example, this reflection of C. Nepos? "If," fays he, we boaft of the skill of a pilot who is capable of faving his vessel in a storm, and from the shelves which lie scattered under the waves, why thould not we commend "the prudence of a citizen who, amidst fo many storms in the Republick, could fave himfelf from shipwreck?" This prudence is so much the more commendable in Atticus, as it was always attended with good nature, generolity, and a determined inclina-tion to do good to all. Thus having escaped himself from the danger of the proscription, he was the resource of a great number of the proscribed. He had lands and ample possessions in Epirus; and whoever among the profcribed retired there, found every thing he could wish for as long as he pleased to stay there.

I cannot finish this account of the pro-Meffalla scribed better than with Messalla, who was blotted out then young, but promised all that could be ber of the expected from a generous mind, and a supe-proscribed. rior genius. We have a large commendation of him in a letter from Cicero to Brutus; and I shall transcribe it here so much the more willingly, as I shall have occasion to speak afterwards more than once of him who is the

vem ex hieme marique scopu-doso servat; cur non singula-incolumitatem pervenit?

· Quod si gubernator præ- ris ejus existimetur pruden-cipua laude fertur, qui na- tia, qui ex tot tamque gra-

fubject

A. R. 709 fubject of it. He had left Cicero to go and ant. c. 43 join Brutus, by whom he was extremely beof marconloved and esteemed. Cicero says then to Bru-Middle Anti tus, "You know him, and confequently it is . 2018 el 18 co " needless to give you a character of him; and bings but it is impossible for me to pass over in " filence fuch accomplished merit. You must of not think to find any equal to Messalla with " regard to probity, uniformity of principles " and conduct, and a warm and firm attach-" ment to the Republick; that eloquence, in " which he greatly excels, can scarce find a place among such a multitude of extraordi-" nary talents which he possesses. Even in his " eloquence, wisdom shines forth and predo-" minates; so much does solidity of judg-" ment, and the most extensive capacity guide " him in his studies, and direct him to the of pureft and most refined taste. He has na-" turally a fublime turn of mind, but there is " joined with it an activity and affiduity which " feem to dispute with it the glory of his suc-" ceffes." It was this young man fo worthy of personal esteem, and besides honourable by his high birth, whom the Triumviri proscribed, under a false pretence that he was an accomplice in Cæfar's murder. But Messalla

> · Cave existimes, Brute, (quanquam non est necesse ea me ad te quæ tibi nota funt scribere : sed tamen tantam omnium laudum excellentiam non queo filentio præterire) cave putes, probitate, conftantia, cura, studio Reipublicæ quidquam illi fimile effe : ut eloquentia, quâ mirabiliter excellit, vix in Cic. ad Brut. 1. 1 had lervar ; cur, non then less incolumnation

Coldul

bere videatur. Quanquam in hac ipía sapientia plus apparet: ita gravi judicio multâque arte le exercuit in veriffimo genere dicendi. Tanta autem industria est, tantumque evigilat in studio, ut non maxima ingenio, quod in eo fummum est, gratia habenda videatur. Cic. ad Brut. 1. 15.

had nothing to fear from their cruel injustice, A. R. 709 because he was in the army of Brutus. It was Appian. either upon this account, or shame, or the hopes of gaining him over to their party, that the Triumviri published a proclamation to the following effect: "As the relations of Messalla have certified to us, that he was not in Rome at the time that Cæsar was killed, we erase his name out of the list of the proscribed." Messalla took no more notice of their pardon than he had done of their anger; and he remained to the end faithful to Brutus, for whom he had a respect and tenderness which nothing could efface.

I must beg leave to stop here, and refer to Particular Appian fuch of my readers who defire to know observatiall the adventures of the profcribed. I shall ans upon only remark briefly, some singular instances proscribed. worthy to be remembered; and I shall men-Plin. vii. tion one Fidustius, who was formerly pro- 43. scribed by Sylla, and escaped death at that time, but unfortunately fuffered under the Triumviri, having been anew profcribed by them at the end of thirty years, only because he had been profcribed once before; one Nonius, who Plin. was profcribed on account of an opal which he xxxvii. 6. had of the bigness of a filbert, which he kept at the peril of his life, and of all that he posfessed: in fine, a young child, named Atilius, Appian. whose riches having excited the avarice of the Dio. Triumviri, they made him put on the Toga virilis, fo that he might be reputed a man, and they profcribed him as fuch.

Thus avarice and cruelty united together to torment the unfortunate Romans, fo that those might be reckoned happy who were permitted to ransom their lives by immense sums, which

H 3 the

the pro-Scription. Val. Max. ix. 5. Appian. Dio.

A.R. 709 they gave to Antony and his wife. For Fulvia made a confiderable figure in this profcripmeddles in tion, and it is reported that the head of one of the fufferers having been brought to Antony, he faid, "I am not acquainted with that head; but ve-" ry likely it is an affair of my wife's." Which was really the case, for he was put into the fatal list by the orders of Fulvia, to whom he had refused to fell his house. And that no body might doubt of the cause of his suffering. his head, instead of being carried to the Forum, like those of the others who were profcribed, was expected on the very house which he would not part with.

The publick batred on Antony.

It was chiefly upon Antony that the odium of fo many cruel indignities fell, fo much the falls parti- more as he surpassed Octavius in age, and Lecularly up pidus in power; and besides, he seemed to Plut. Ant. pique himself upon insulting the publick miseries, by those excesses which he plunged himself into at that very time. His house, which was frequently thut to magistrates and military officers, who were rejected with ignominy, was filled with buffoons and players, and wretched flatterers, given up to the most shameful gluttony; and he squandered away, amongst the worst of mankind, that money which was the price of the blood of the most illustrious citizens.

The odious Lepidus and Planç45.

Lepidus and Plancus were willing to share triumphs of with him the publick hatred by the triumph which they caused to be decreed to them in this conjuncture, for frivolous exploits which they pretended to have done in Gaul. They had the barbarous infolence, amidst so many subjects of mourning and tears, and while the freets of Rome were freaming with blood, to

iffue

iffue a proclamation for publick rejoicings at A. R. 709 their triumphs. They were Consuls elect, and Pigh. Antriumphed the last days of the year, Plancus nal. the twenty-ninth, and Lepidus the thirty-first of December, both of them heartily cursed by the citizens. The foldiers too were of the fame mind, and in following the chariot of the triumphers, they fung this verse, which has been preserved to us by Velleius: De Germanis, non Vell.ii.67. de Gallis, duo triumphant Confules. "It is not " over the Gauls which the Confuls triumph, " but over their brothers whom they have " proferibed." The Spirit of this Latin verse cannot be well translated into another language, because the word Germani is the Latin name for the people of Germany, and in that language fignifies brothers.

The cruelties of triumviral Proscription Refuges were confined within the bounds of Italy. All granted to those who could escape from that unfortunate scribed out country, found protectors to relieve them. Bru- of Italy, tus and Cassius, the one in Macedonia, the other especially in Asia, and Cornificius in Africa, saved a great by Sextus number of them, but there was none more ser-

viceable to them than Sextus Pompeius.

This only heir of fo great and unfortunate a Appian. family, after having been condemned, as I faid Dio. before, amongst the authors of Cæfar's death, tho' they could not even impute fo much as a fuspicion to him, was nevertheless put into the list of the proscribed. He had recourse to his fword to be revenged of these unjust and odious proceedings, and making use of the title of Commander general of the feas, which had been given him at a time when the Senate had fome influence in the Republick, he affembled together as many veffels as he could, and re-H 4 ceived.

A. R. 709 ceived, without diffinction, all those who were disposed to serve him. Pyrates, flaves, robbers and all were welcome to him. But besides these, there were men of a different stamp, inhabitants of the towns of Italy, who were to be facrificed as a recompence to the Legions of the Triumviri, who flocked together to range themselves under him, whom they looked upon as their revenger, and augmented his forces. He foon found himself powerful enough not only to keep possession of the sea of Tuscany, to pillage, make incursions, and take vessels in the ports of Italy, but also to make himself mafter of a part of Sicily, forcing Pompeius Bithynicus, who was then Prætor of it, to let him share in the command.

All this was done during the course of the Profcription, and put him in a condition to afford the most favourable refuge for the profcribed, to which he applied himfelf with great zeal and generofity. He caused to be fixed up in Rome, and in all the great towns of Italy, placarts, by which he promised, to those who should fave one of the proscribed, double the fum which the Triumviri gave for each head which was brought them. He station'd boats, barks, and ships of war along the coast, to give notice by fignals to the unfortunate persons who hid themselves, and to receive all those who could get on board. Whenever any of the profcribed got to him, he received them graciously, furnished them with cloaths and all other necessaries, and to such as were capable. gave commissions in his legions, or on board the fleet. He kept his faith with them to the last, and never made any treaty with the Triumviri afterwards, wherein the fafety of the

ed privat

proferibed, who chose to return to their coun- A. R. 709. try, was not flipulated. Ant. C. 43.

miles.

I have already observed, that the avarice of Exactions the Triumviri equalled their cruelty, and was of the Trieven frequently the principal motive of it. The "moirate. immense sums which were produced from the confifcation of the goods of the profcribed, was not fufficient for them; whether it was owing to their being as ill managed as they were acquired; or whether it was, that the avarice of the foldiers was a vaft gulf which nothing could fill up. As the troops were fensible that they were necessary to their generals, who stood indifferfibly in need of the force of arms, to keep possession of a power wholly founded on violence, and detefted by all the citizens; neither officers nor foldiers kept within any bounds, but gave a loofe to their defires, and extravagant demands. They not only adjudged to themfelves the greatest part of the spoils of the proferibed, but they plundered their houses, and rendered themselves by force the heirs of those who died a natural death. In short, their infolence was carried fo far, that Atia, the mother of Octavius, dying at that time, there was one of the foldiers, who had the boldness to demand that he might fucceed as her fon. The Triumviri then were far from receiving as much as they expected from the fale of the goods of the profcribed; and after this was over, they gave notice to the people, that they must still have eight hundred millions of sesterces to defray the expence of the war which they were going to undertake (fix millions two hundred and fixty fix thousand four pounds sterof whom they are eved year, obaging h

A. R. 709.

In order to raise this sum; there was no ex-Ant. C. 43 tortion nor rapine which they did not put in practice. Taxes upon the rich, double duties of all kinds, taking away from the vestals treafures intrufted to their care, oppressions and chicanery used against the possessors of lands and houses, all was put in practice. Thus they amaffed confiderable fums, part of which they were obliged to give a share of to those whose affiftance was absolutely necessary; so that there was an univerfal change made at that time in the fortunes of the Republick, and pofsessions passed from the hands of the rich to those who but a little before had no other fund or revenue but their fwords

A tax imposed by them on the ladies.

One of the most singular expedients made use of by the Triumviri, in order to raise money, was a tax on the women. I mention it here because I chuse to join together every thing which regards the violence of the Triumviri, the' probably enough this was not done till the year after. They made out a lift. then of fourteen hundred ladies of the best quality, and the richest in the city, whom they order'd to make a declaration of their estates, that they might be taxed with such fums as should be thought proper; and this under the penalty of confication to all who should refuse, or make fraudulent reports; and in order to discover the fraud, if any should be guilty of it, they promised a reward to such as should detect them, and plan award life flows

The ladies were not wanting to themselves. on this occasion. They had recourse to the protection of Octavia, the fifter of young Cæsar, and to Julia the mother of Antony, of whom they received very obliging pro-

mises.

mises. But Fulvia, that haughty and arrogant A. R. 209, woman, having rejected all their petitions with distain, they were piqued at the affront, and went to the Forum to address the Triumviri themselves. A respect for their birth and rank having engaged the mob, and even the guards to separate and make room for them, they approached the tribunal, and Hortensia, the daughter of the orator Hortensius, spoke in the name of all the rest. This lady's speech is to be found in Appian, and it appears to me to be too well composed to suspect it, as having been done by that author. I shall therefore transcribe it as an original, and copy'd after the memoirs of the times.

"We followed at first, said Hortensia, the Hortensia's laws of modesty which become us, in be-speech on ginning by addressing ourselves to persons this sub-

of our own fex, in order to obtain justice jet.

by their means. But having been treated by Fulvia with an indecent haughtiness, we

" find ourselves obliged to present our com-

" plaints immediately to you."

gaivoulteb 32

"You have taken from us our fathers, our children, our husbands and brothers, and if you take from us our goods, you reduce us to a situation which is neither suitable to our birth, our manner of living, nor to our sex. If you alledge that you have suffered an injury from our hands, proscribe us as you have done the men. But if even our weakness justifies us to you, if we have neither declared any of you enemies to the publick, nor corrupted the sidelity of the soldiers, nor sent armies against you, nor laid any difficulties in your way to those honours and offices which you

A. R. 709 4 have been ambitious of possessing, why Ant. C. 43 4 should we have any share in the punish-

"ment, when we had no part in the offence?" And why should we be loaded with taxes,

who neither dispute with you the power,

" nor command of legions, nor any part of

publick authority, to invade which you

carry things to fo great excess? " But you tell us that you have a war to "fupport. And pray when has mankind been free from war? And yet has any of them thought of imposing a tax on the women upon that account? The universal confent of nations has confirmed this exception, " which nature herself has granted us. Our ancestors, it is true, in the extreme exigency " the Republick was in, when attacked by " Hannibal, contributed towards the expences of the state; but they did it voluntarily. That which they gave was not levied upon their estates, their dowries, and houses, resources without which free women can-" not live. They only appropriated to it the ornaments of their persons. Nay further, "they were neither subject to any estimation, on informations of accusers. There was " neither force nor constraint, and they de-" termined freely, as well upon the quantity " of the contribution, as upon the thing itfelf. What is then the danger which you apprehend at prefent, with regard to the country and the empire? In case there was a war with the Gauls or Parthians, you " should find us ready to renew the example of our ancestors. But as to civil wars, the se gods forbid that we should help you with

our contributions, or facilitate the means of

" destroying

" destroying one another. We were charged A.R. 709. " with no taxes in the war between Cæsar Ant. C. 43.

" and Pompey, neither Cinna, nor Marius, " nor even Sylla himself, that tyrant of the

"Republick, which you pretend to re-" form, ever attempted to commit such a

" violence."

His

This speech was too free and judicious not to displease the Triumviri. They were offended at the boldness of the weaker sex, while those men who were oppress'd durst neither raife their heads, nor open their mouths. They therefore wanted to cause the lictors to push back the ladies. But the whole crowd which filled the place, fignifying by a shout that they disapproved of this violence, they put on a gentler tone, and promifed to confider the affair again. Their moderation however did not go fo far as to retract the injustice fully, it was a great deal for them to retrench the number, and tax only four hundred ladies instead of fourteen hundred.

I have said, according to Appian, that it Ventidias had been regulated in the island of the Reno, is made that Octavius should yield the Consulship to Consul. Ventidius. He was a man worthy of the prizing greatest honours, if the thing had been done in fortune. a more regular manner. His fortune was in- Aul. Gel. deed very furprizing. I have mentioned else- XV. 4. where, that he had been led in triumph, when Vol. IX. he was almost a child, in the Social war, by Book 31. Pompeius Strabo. It is doubtless that great mortification which has given occasion to some to fav, that he was of low birth; tho' probably he was the fon of one of the chiefs of the allies which revolted against Rome. Being reduced to great misery he served at first as a private

Ventidat.

Confed

- The far-

fortune. Aul. Ge

A.VX

Book

A. R. 709. private foldier, and diftinguished himself in this lowest rank of the army. With a view of pushing his fortune, he undertook to furnish mules to carry the equipages of the camp, and he fet out to follow this low bulinels with Cæfar's army in Gaul. That great man, who had uncommon judgment and penetration in diftinguishing merit, picked out Ventidius in that obscure station. He employ'd him in his army, and having been pleafed with his fervice, when he became mafter of the Republick, he made him a Senator, then Tribune of the people, and at last deligned him for Prætor for that year, the events of which I am now writing. Ventidius in his prætorship, shewed himself, as we have feen, attached to Antony, and ferved him with fidelity and courage. In recompence he was first honoured with the dignity of Pontiff, and very foon after, by the most singular distinction, and contrary to all rules, he was advanced to the rank of Conful. while he was actually invested with the charge of Prætor. His promotion to the Confulship, compared with his former condition, occasioned a great deal of murmurings; and we find in Aulus Gellius, verses upon this subject BRISSING scattered among the publick. "Come . hither, " fays the poet, all you who are skilled in the " art of explaining prodigies. A very extraordinary one has just now happened. He " who drefs'd mules, is become a Conful." This man, the object of the derifion of low jesters, is nevertheless the only Roman, as we shall afterwards have occasion to relate, who,

Concurrite omnes augures, haruspices Portentum inustratum constatum est recens,

till the time that Plutarch wrote, had triumph- A. R. 799. ed over the Parthians. He only enjoyed the Confulfhip during a part of the month of December, together with C. Corinnas, formerly one of Cæfar's lieutenants in Spain, who was

deputed in the room of Q. Pedius.

The Triumviri followed Cafar's maxims Appian. in multiplying the nominations of offices, Dio. in order to reward a greater number of fubjects. Thus the Pratorship of Ventidius, as foon as he became Conful, was given to one of the Ediles; and all the Prætors were obliged to lay down their offices five days before the end of the year, in order that others might be put in their places for this fhort time, and thereby enjoy both the title and rank of the antient Prætors. Things but

The tyrannical government of the Triumviri Civic was the object of the publick hatred. But crowns dethey who detefted it in private, adorned it in creed to the the Senate by honourary decrees, which fear Triumviri. alone extorted from them. They yielded to them all the honours formerly bestowed on the benefactors and faviours of the State; and particularly decreed them Civic crowns, which after all the blood they had shed in Rome and Italy, became only the monuments and reproaches of their cruelty.

> M. ÆMILIUS LEPIDUS, II. L. MUNATIUS PLANCUS.

Ant. C. 42. 2007 49-

Lepidus, with the confent of his colleagues, had affumed the place of Conful, which D. Brutus, named by Cæsar, had left vacant by his death. Plancus too enjoyed the benefit of Cæfar's nomination. They both therefore took possession

all it

EMILIUS II. and MUNATIUS Confuls. 112

A. R. 710. possession of the Consulship the first of January.

Ant. C. 42. But there was no equality between the two Confuls, for the triumviral power gave Lepidus a superiority, which reduced Plancus to a dependence, that left him only the shadow of a Confulship; and all the Consuls which followed, found themselves almost in the same case with Plancus. The last citizens who enjoyed, properly speaking, the Consular authority, were those of the preceding year, Hirtius and Panfa.

The Triumviri fwear to observe the ads of Cafar, and make others also do the Same.

rated to the

The Triumviri were greatly interested to render respectable the memory of Cæsar, whose partizans and avengers they declared themselves to be, and to whose place each of them aspired. From this motive they renewed and confirmed all the honours which had been decreed to him, and besides added some new ones which I shall not trouble the reader with the disagreeable detail of. I shall only observe, that they introduced that year a custom which ever after continued. For, the first of January, they swore to observe the acts of Cæsar, and made others do the like. cording to this example every year on the fame day, as long as the form of government established by Augustus subsisted, they renewed this oath in the name of the reigning Emperor, and of all his predeceffors, excepting those who had been disgraced by a decree of the Senate.

They apyears.

SA C DEAS All the precautions which Cæfar had taken point Ma- to establish his power, served as rules and for several models for the Triumviri. Thus in imitation of him they appointed magistrates for several years; by which means they made themselves new creatures, and confirmed their power by eftablishing

establishing for a long time all the branches of A. R. 710. authority in the hands of those who were attached to them.

But the chief affair which employed them was the war against Brutus and Cassius, whose forces gave them, very justly, great disquiet. I have already related the first and rapid increase of the party of these two irreconcileable enemies to tyranny. They became still stronger, and performed a great many remarkable things during the last months of the preceding year, and the first months of that we are now entered upon; for which reason we must now give an account of them.

of the workled motion & II. of the trans

Brutus enters Thrace, and there makes war fuccessfully. Money coined by bis order. He passes over into Asia, equips a fleet, and acquaints Cassius with it. Brutus and Cassius re-join at Smyrna. They all together in a perfest good understanding. Cassius subjects the Rhodians. He uses them roughly. Brutus carries the war into Lycia. His gentleness. The rage of the Xanthians. Brutus and Cassius meet at Sardes. A very warm debate between them. Favonius diverts them from it. The conduct and views of Cashus were less pure than those of Brutus. A pretended apparition discovered to Brutus. Octavius and Antony cross the sea, and enter Macedonia with their troops. Brutus and Cassius being arrived at Sestos, they review their army. The magnificent appearance of that army. Money distributed to the soldiers. Brutus and Cashus advance beyond Philippi. A description of the country about VOL. XV.

the city of Philippi. The encampment of Brutus and Coffius. Antony, and afterwards Octavius, arrives opposite to them, and eneamps at a small distance. The disadvantage of their fituation. The first battle of Philippi. Brutus is conqueror: Cassins is defeated. Cassus through precipitate despair kills bimself. The death of Caffius gives a superiority to the Triumoiri. Ostavius, who was ill, bad but little spare in the action. Brutus re-animates the courage of Caffins's foldiers. . The embarassment of his fituation. The fleet which he had in the Ionian fea destroys a powerful reinforcement which was fent to the Triumviri. He is not informed of that important event. A reflection of Plutarch on this subject. The second battle of Philippi. The death of Cato's son. Brutus runs a risk of being taken, and only avoids that misfortune by the generofity of a friend. The last moments of Brutus. His blafphemy against virtue. His death. Antony causes the last bonours to be paid to his body. Offavius fends his head to Rome. The death of Portia, the wife of Brutus. The names of the most illustrious persons who were flain at Philippi. Livius Drufus, the father of Livia, kills bimfelf. The cruelty of Octavius. The republican party perishes with Brutus. The remains of the vanquished army furrender themselves to the Triumviri. A fine expression of Messalla to Octavius. The reunion of all the naval forces of the vanquished party. Murcus conveys part of them to Sextus Pompeius, and Domitius with the other keeps the sea for some time without acknowledging any chief. An allegory of Horace, with regard to these last troubles of the republicans. That poet baving

baving escaped from the battle of Philippi, finds A. R. 710.
a resource in his genius for poetry.

RUTUS not being able to put himself in Brutus ena condition to pass speedily enough into ters Thrace Italy, to defend it against the Triumviri, pre- makes war pared himself to receive them. He embraced succ infully. an opportunity, which prefented itself, of lead- Appian. ing his army into Thrace, to which he was Dio. prompted by the double advantage of exercifing his troops by fighting against a warlike nation, and having an opportunity of acquiring to himself the title of Imperator, an honour which was by no means useless to him in his present situation. He entered therefore into Thrace, to put himself in possession of a province where Sadales reigned, who when he was dying bequeathed it to the Romans. Befides as the Beffi, a very fierce nation, incommoded their neighbours, by incursions and robberies, he proposed to suppress them; and affifted by one of the kings of Thrace, call'd Rhefcuporis, tho' at first he suffered a check, yet he terminated afterwards these two enterprizes to his honour.

Besides Thrace surnished him with money, of which he stood greatly in need. For his character of gentlenels, clemency, and generosity prevented, or at least rendered less successful, many of the means of surnishing his military chest; which being only to be executed by the force of arms, are no less hard and tyrannical in themselves, than war itself. It was therefore extremely fortunate for him, that a princess, named Polemocratia, whose husband, who reigned over part of Thrace, had been assafinated by an opposite faction, came to take

2 refuge

Ant. C. 42.

A. R. 710. refuge in the Roman camp, with her fon, who was very young, and all her treasures. Brutus fent the young prince to Cyzica, to be educated there in a manner becoming his birth, and converted into money the treasures of Polemocratia. He wanted that this money should be a monument of an action, which he looked upon as the best he had ever done. It bore on one fide the image of Brutus, and on the other a cap, the fymbol of liberty, between two poinards; and upon the exergue was stamped the ides of March, the day on which Cæsar was killed. There are some of these pieces still preserved in the cabinets of the curious.

Money coined by bis order.

He paffes over into Afia. equips a fleet, and acquaints Caffius with it. Plut. Brut.

reings

Brutus having caused his army to pass into Asia, took care to equip a powerful fleet in the ports of Bithynia and Cyzica; and while they were employed about this, he travelled over the country, giving orders to princes, and' deputies of towns, gaining all their hearts, and establishing over all, with peace and tranquillity, the love of his government. In the mean time he wrote to Cassius, who, after having established his authority over all Syria and Cilicia, and demanded of those towns which refifted him, and particularly that of Tarfus, enormous contributions, was preparing to go into Egypt to punish Cleopatra for the asfistance which she had given to Dollabella. Brutus diverted him from this defign, by representing to him, that they had not proposed to acquire a power for their own conveniency; but that it was to deliver their country from tyrants who oppressed it, that they assembled their forces from all quarters. That therefore if they intended to be faithful to their plan, and not lose the object in view, they ought not to remove

move themselves further from Italy, but, on A. R. 710. the contrary, to make haste to supply their Ant. C. 42. fellow citizens with the fuccours which they stood in need of.

Cassius yielded to these remonstrances, and Brutus began his march to approach towards Brutus. and Casfius It was at Smyrna that they first faw one an- rejoin at other again after their parting at the port of Piræus, the one turning towards Syria, and the other towards Macedonia. The fight of the forces, with which they were attended, caused a reciprocal joy in both, and a surprising confidence. In short, having quitted Italy, like unfortunate exiles, without having one fingle veffel of war, one foldier, or town under their command, after a short interval they met again, well furnished with infantry, cavalry, money, and in a condition of fupporting a contest, where the fate of the Roman empire was the subject.

They strove which of them should behave They at with most politeness to the other. Cassius together in contented himself with an equality; but Bru- a perfect tus yielded to him the honours, and went good undermost frequently to visit him, because Cassius standing. was older, and in a more infirm state of

health.

They concerted the plan of their operations; and as the Lycians and the Rhodians had obftinately refused to grant them any affiftance, they refolved to begin by reducing these two nations, in order that they might leave nothing undone behind them, while they were engaged against the Triumviri. Brutus charged himself with the Lycians, and Cassius with the Rhodians.

A. R. 710. Their mutual good understanding continued Ant. C. 42. firm even with regard to the money, which occasions so many disputes amongst mankinds Brutus alledged, that having employed towards the equipment of a fleet, for the defence of the common cause, all the money which he was able to amais, he had a right to demand of Cassius a part of his. But the friends of Cassius maintain'd, on the other hand, that it was not reasonable that those sums which had been raised by very troublesome means, and managed with economy, should be divided with Brutus, who would gain to himself all the honour of them, by means of ill placed and extravagant bounties. But Callius was more equitable than his friends, and yielded to Brutus the third of his treasure.

Dio. 1. XLVII.

Tish

They further agreed perfectly well in an act of clemency towards a very unworthy object. Gallius Poplicola the brother of Messalla, but very different from him, having formed the horrid delign of affaffinating Brutus, had obtained pardon in confideration of his brother. Some time after he renewed the fame attempt against Cassius, and was convicted of it by the testimony of Polla his mother, who being willing to fave Cassius, and obtain pardon for her fon, thought the best means of succeeding was to discover the criminal herfelf. Brutus and Cassius were so good as to pardon him. But bad hearts are not to be worked upon by acts of indulgence and generofity; for Gellius, the very first opportunity, betrayed his chiefs to whom he was fo much obliged, and went over to the enemy's camp.

After some stay at Smyrna the two generals departed for the two expeditions which they

had

had projected. Cassius, to whose lot the car. A. R. 710.
rying on the war against the Rhodians fell,
knowing that he had to do with a courageous Cassius
people and remarkably strong at sea, he caused Rhodians.
both his land and sea forces to be put in Appian.
motion at the same time. Their rendezvouz Dio.
Plut Brut.

was at the town of Myndus in Caria.

There was a party at Rhodes which wanted them to fubriit to Cassius. But the most sen-

fible party is too commonly the most seede. The body of the people, animated by some rash and sactious persons, wanted to make resistance, and did not doubt of success. The glory of their ancestors assured them of it, and they called to mind with pleasure Demetrius and Mithridates, princes a great deal more Cic. ad powerful than Cassus, who were obliged to sam. retire shamefully from before Rhodes. Since XII. 14. the battle of Pharsalia the Rhodians had actually turned their backs upon that party.

which stood up for the liberty of the antient government in Rome. They shut their gates against Pompey in his slight. After the death of Cæsar, they attached themselves to Dollabella, and refused their assistance to all those who made war against him. Unluckily for the town they persisted in the same plan when

Cassius approached; and instead of promising him full satisfaction, they insultingly proposed to him to wait for the orders of the Senate, which was then sitting at Rome, thereby meaning the orders of the Triumviri.

One may eafily judge in what manner Cassius, one of the most passionate of all mankind, received this insulting message. He only answered it with menaces, and threatenings with which the Rhodians were not so much affected

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A. R. 710 as they ought to have been. They made but one attempt to foften him, by fending to him Archelaus, their fellow citizen, who had instructed him in the Greek; for in Rhodes there was a school for all the sciences, and there Cassius had been instructed during his youth. Archelaus acquitted himself of his commission in the most tender and pathetick manner; but Cassius content to have shown a great deal of friendship to his old master, remained inexorable

with regard to the principal point.

There was then a necessity of coming to blows, and the Rhodians were rash enough to risk a naval engagement. Dio reports, that they carried their infolence fo far, as to difplay to the eyes of the Romans, the chains which they had prepared for them. But this excess of folly and blindness does not appear probable. It is certain however that after they were twice vanquished they were still so obstinate as to let the Roman troops approach, and allow themselves to be besieged both by sea and land. Nevertheless at that time, those who were defirous of peace took upon them, and began to negotiate with Fannius and Lentulus, who commanded the fiege by land. But while they were debating, Cassius, who went on board the fleet himself, and governed the attack on the fide of the port, appeared all at once in the middle of the town, with a number of chosen men, without having either made a breach in the walls or scaled them. The posterns on the side of the sea had been open to them by some of the most sensible men of Rhodes, who fearing to fee their town taken by affault, thought they could not be too speedy in preventing so great a mischief.

An

An expression of Cassius seemed at first to Ar R. 710. promise moderation; for when a great many He treats faluted him by the names of mafter and king, them he quite rejected those titles, faying that his roughly. greatest glory was to have killed him who dared to make himself master and king in Rome. But the rest of his conduct did not answer to this beginning. He caused a tribunal to be erected in the middle of the Forum, and fixed at the fide of it a halberd, as a fign that he proposed to treat Rhodes as a town taken by force. He condemned to death, and caused to be executed in his presence fifty of the principal authors of the rebellion, and pronounced the fentence of banishment on twenty five others, who had fled or absconded. It is true that he affured the rest of the inhabitants of their lives and liberties, having forbid his troops, on pain of death, to exercise any violence against their persons. He further forbid them to pillage, but this was only with defign to plunder it himself; for it was one of the richest cities of all Asia. Accordingly he took possession of all the treasure, and every thing of value, which belonged to the publick, without sparing either the offerings confecrated in the temples, or even the statues of the Gods. And when the Rhodians prayed him to leave them at least one of their divinities, he answered them that he would leave them the Sun. In effect he neither touched the image nor the chariot of that God, who was particularly honour'd at Rhodes. But without doubt he played upon the ambiguity of the word, which might fignify that he Val. Max. would only leave them the enjoyment of the I. 5. light. And by a third fense, which super-

A. R. 710. stitious antiquity has put upon it, they have Ant. C. 43 imagined, feeing he was reduced to kill himfelf a few months after at Philippi, that by speaking in this manner he had foretold his

own death, fo nigh at hand. 2014 you's listens

Cassius likewise published an order to oblige every one to bring to him all the gold and money which was in their houses, threatening with death all who should disobey, and promiling rewards to fuch as should discover them. The Rhodians were not much afraid at first, and fuch as could conceal their treasures thought they ran no great risk. But when they faw, by fome examples, that the order was executed rigoroully, they found they must obey: and Cassius having taken out of Rhodes, by different ways, eight thousand talents, imposed eight hundred more upon the Forum by way of fine. All the people of Asia, though peaceable and submissive, experienced in the fame manner the fevere ulage of Cassius. He demanded that they should pay him immediately ten years tribute; but Octavius and Antony did not allow him time to push this to the extremity.

Brutus war into Lycia. His gentleness. The rage of the

Brutus, tho' infinitely more gentle than Cafcarries the frus, occasioned nevertheless greater mischiefs to those enemies which he had to engage; but it was owing to their own fault, and the effect of their blind fury. The Lycians, animated by one named Naucrates, refused to furnish Xanthians. troops or money, and marched up armed upon some eminencies which defended the entrance into their country. Brutus having obferved the time when going to their repart, they were less upon their guard, attacked them, killed fix hundred of them, and forced the paf-

lages

tages. Afterwards, whenever he took any of A. R. you, their towns or villages, he fet at liberty those who fell into his hands, being desirous, by this good usage, to gain the hearts of the nation. But the Lycians were fierce and haughty, they were provoked at their losses, and despised the

blemency of the vanquisher.

The bravelt of them that themselves up in the city of Xanthus, and Brutus was obliged to besiege them there in form. He soon reduced them to despair of safety but by slight, and a great many saved themselves by the river which ran by the walls, swimming below the water. But the Romans deprived them of this resource, by stretching out nets on the tops, of which were sastened little bells, which gave them notice whenever any of them were entangled.

An attempt which the Kanthians made to burn the machines of the beliegers, and which fucceeded at first, was the cause of their loss. For the flame of the machines being driven towards the town by a violent wind, communicated itself to the fortifications and the neighbouring houses; so that in an instant the conflagration became very confiderable. The Xanthians had been driven back, and the Romans purfued them, but Brutus, instead of laying hold on this opportunity of carrying the place, was fully employed in preferving it, and ordered the foldiers to endeavour to extinguish the fire. The rage which feized the Xanthians on this occasion, is inconceivable. Far from thinking themselves obliged to their generous enemy for the efforts which he made to fave them, they refolved to perish in spite of him. All, both freemen and flaves, women and children,

A. R. 709 dren, mounted the walls, and threw darts against Ant. C. 43 the Romans, who were striving to affift them. And instead of extinguishing, they augmented the fire, and made it spread more and more towards the city, by throwing into it wood, dry reeds, and all kinds of fuel.

When Brutus faw that the flame increased incessantly, and formed a circle round the town, he was overwhelmed with grief. He rode about the fortifications, trying all the means he could think of to fuccour them; and stretching out his hands to the Xanthians, he conjured them to have pity on themselves, and allow him to fave them together with their country. But nobody gave ear to him. Furious and desperate they put themselves to death all manner of ways. And not only the men and women who were grown up, were transported with this blind madness, but the very children, with diffracted cries leaped into the middle of the flames, or threw themselves headlong from the walls upon the pavement; while others presented their throats to their fathers fwords, befeeching them to kill them. In examining the ruins of this unfortunate town, they discovered a woman hanging in a cord, with which she had been strangled, having a young child dead at her breaft, and still holding in her hand a lighted torch to fet fire to her house. This horrid spectacle made those who were witnesses of it tremble. They mentioned it to Brutus, who would not go to fee fo melancholy an object; but melting into tears, he promifed a reward to every foldier who should bring him a Lycian alive; and they fay that the number of those whom it was possible to

fave from their own rage, amounted to no A.R. 710.

This is the second time that the town of Herodot. Xanthus perished, in this manner, by the l. i. fury of its inhabitants. In the time of Cyrus, the Xanthians being attacked by Harpagus, that prince's lieutenant, they chose rather to burn their wives and children, whom they shut up in the citadel, and expose themselves all to death in a general fally, than submit to a conqueror whom all the East obeyed.

It appears that the Lycians were a very fierce nation, for the disaster of the Xanthians, and the humanity of their conqueror, made at first no impression on their neighbours of Patara. They prepared to defend themselves, and Brutus, with great reluctance determined to attack them, for fear of renewing the tragic scene. Nevertheless he invested the town, but without battering the walls. Being resolved to try every thing in order to gain them, he detached to them fome of the Xanthian prisoners, whose infatuation and madness had blinded their reason. He also sent back to them some ladies of Patara who had been taken at Xanthus, and whose fathers and husbands bore a diftinguished rank in the country. And these ladies, by the gentle infinuations, and the praises which they bestowed on the wisdom and generofity of Brutus, at last overcame the obstinacy of the Patarians, and they furrendered at discretion. has elected to not be made

Brutus granted to all their lives and liberties, but he took possession of all the money belonging to the publick, and published with regard to the inhabitants, an order like that of Cassius, threatening with death those who should con-

1200

A. R. 710. ceal their riches, and encouraging informers with the promife of rewards. This rigour was too contrary to Brutus's character for him ever to defign to go through with it, or indeed to be capable of it, and this appeared on a very remarkable occasion. A slave accused his mafter of having concealed his treasure, which was indeed very true. They were both brought before Brutus; and while they went along, the mother of the accused, trembling for her fon, followed, crying aloud, that the alone was blameable for the disobedience to the orders of the Pro-conful, and that her fon had no share in it. The flave believed he should make his court to Brutus, and be fure of the reward, by infifting strongly to prove the mother's falsebood, and fully to convict his mafter, who, during this dispute, kept a profound silence. Brutus, as well shocked at the insolence of the informer, as admiring the patience of the fon, and the good heart of the mother, treated them all according to their deferts. He fent back the mother and fon with the treasure, and caused the slave to be crucified.

> The town of Myra having also submitted voluntarily, and Brutus having become mafter of all Lycia, contented himself with taxing the nation at one hundred and twenty talents; after which he returned towards Ionia, fignalizing his march with divers marks of juffice, always unbiassed, and always impartial in the distribution of rewards and punishments. But that which he most approved himself, and which gained him the most honour among all the Romans of worth and character, was, the revenge he took upon that wretched orator -nos blood on a god drab dhy Theodores,

Theodotus, who had proferibed the head of A.R. 710. Pompey. But I have mentioned this elfewhere.

Brutus and Caffins joined again at Sardisin Ly- Brutus and dia, and their armies being rounited, proclaim- Cassius edeach of them folemnly, by the ritle of Impera- meet at Sardis. tor or General-conqueror. At their first inter- A very view, like great men who feared no centure, they warm dewanted to have a conversation together, con-bate becerning reciprocal complaints which had been tweenthem. made of both. They debated a dong while, diverts and it could not otherwise happen, confidering them from the importance and multiplicity of the affairs it. which they governed, and the great number of friends and commanders who acted under their orders. They thut themselves up therefore together in the first convenient house, and made their flaves guard the door, with express orders not to admit any body in to them.

The debate was very warm. After having laid open their grievances, they entered upon proofs of them, and reproached one another. They burst out into tears, and the tone of their voices became more high and harfh, fo that their friends who were flanding without the door, heard the noife, and began to be alarm; ed, not knowing where all this passion might end. In the mean time none of them durit venture to go in, on account of the orders given to the contrary. Favonius alone, an importment imitator of Cate, whom I have mentioned before more than once, attempted to enter. The flaves at first would not admit him, but it was no eafy matter to curb Favonius in a thing he was refolved upon. He valued himself upon a cynical boldness, which knew no restraint; and his fallies, tho' impertinent, were formstimes well received, because they made people laugh.

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Mercelas.

Ant. C. 42.

A. R. 710. He then forced the passage, and with a theatrical tone of voice, address'd Brutus and Cassius in these words, which Homer puts into the mouth of Nestor, exhorting to peace Agamemnon and Achilles: "Yield to my advice; " you are both younger than I." Caffius, who was naturally lively, could not forbear laughing; but Brutus, who was more ferious, was angry, and drove away Favonius, calling him an impudent Cynic. This adventure, however, put an end to the debate between Brutus and Caffius, and they parted on good terms.

Cassius that night made a great entertainment, and Brutus invited his friends to it. After they were fat down to table, Favonius came in from bathing. Brutus's passion was not yet over; he declared before all the company that Favonius came without being invited, and defired he should be put down to the lowest couch. But the cynical Senator, came and placed himself forcibly in the middle of the most honourable couch. The entertainment was accompanied with a great deal of gaiety; the freedom and chearfulness of the conversation feafoned the repast, without interrupting the philosophical reflections, to which the Romans of distinction had a particular turn.

The conduct and views of Caffins were less pure than those of Brutus.

Next morning Brutus mortified Caffius by a condemnation he pronounced against a man of rank, who had been Prætor at Rome, and afterwards honoured by Brutus himfelf with divers offices of truft. Plutarch calls him L. Pella, and fays, that having been accused and convicted of extortion by the people of Sardis,

inical buildings, which it rew no returnment and

^{*} AAAa wi9sob aupw di reuriew isd iniio. Il. I. I.

he was condemned without mercy. Cassius, a A. R. 710. few days before, had observed a different conduct with regard to two of his friends, who being accused before him for the same crime. absolved them with a private reprimand, and kept him afterwards about his person. He acted thus out of principle, and even reproached Brutus with too great attachment to rules. at a time which demanded caution, allowances, and indulgence. But Brutus, who was always full of great maxims, referred him to the Ides of March, that famous day on which they had killed Cæfar, who did not extort upon mankind himself, but was a protector and encourager of publick robbers. "If, fays he, there is " any lawful pretence for neglecting exact "juffice, it were better for us to support the friends of Cæfar, than to shut our eyes " against the villainies committed by our own people. In the first case we could only be " accused of timidity; but here, with a thou-" fand troubles and dangers, we purchase the "reproach of injuffice." of band over

This instance, joined to what we have formerly mentioned, discovers that the virtue of Brutus was much more pure than that of Cassius. This last, doubtless, deserved to be esteemed for his great qualities; but his passion was dreadful, and his command harsh. On the contrary, towards his friends he shewed himself gentle and indulgent, even so far as to sa-

ε 'Ο δὶ τῶν ἐιδῶν τῶν Μαςτίων ἐκέλευεν ἀυθὸν μενημονεύειν ἐκείνων, ἐν αἰς Καίσαςα ἔκειναν, ἐκ ἀυπὸν ἀγούθα κὰ Φέςονθα κάθες ἀνθρώπως, ἀλλὶ ἐτέςων δύναμιν ὅνθα ταῦτα πρασσόντων. ὡς ἔι τις ἔςὶ πρό Φασις Vol. XV.

καλή μεθ ής αμελείται το δίκαιου, αμειου ήν της Καίσαςος Φίλης υπομένειν εκείνως μη γας ανανδρέιας, νύν δε αδικίας δόξα μετά κινδύνων ήμει η απόνων πρόσες ιν.

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crifice

130 ÆMILIUS H. and MUNATIUS, Confuls.

A. R. 710 crifice in their favour the rights of justice. He was by no means an enemy to pleasure, and in private company his morality was not quite fincere. But the conduct of Brutus was always perfectly steady. An unalterable gentleness, a noble elevation of sentiments, a strength of mind over which neither passion, pleasure, nor envy could have any influence, and an inflexable firmness in the defence of justice and honesty, composed the character of that great man. In consequence of these qualities he was beloved of his people and troops, deated upon by his friends, admired by good men, and even not hated by those who made war against him.

The perfect confidence which they had in the justness of his views, was chiefly what gained him that universal affection and veneration." This is a glory which is proper to him, and diffinguishes him from all the other heads of parties, in the feveral wars among the Romans. For it is not thought that Pompey would ever have been disposed to have restored to the laws the fovereign power, in case he had vanquished Cæfar. It is generally believed that he would have kept himself at the head of the government, under the name of Conful and Dictator. or fome other title of magiltracy, which would have marked his ambition, and amused the vulgar. A great many imagine that Caffius had a defign of the fame nature; and altho' his averfion for tyranny cannot be disputed, yet it is hard to be believed, that fo proud a man as he was, full of haughty courage, and frequently preferring the useful to the just, should be free of all defire of power, should enter upon a war, lead a wandering life, and expose himfelf solihi

felf to a thouland dangers, only to re-establish A. R. 710' Ant. C. 42. the Citizens in the enjoyment of their liberties. If we mount still higher, Marius, Cinna, and Carbonius, certainly did not defend their country; they looked upon it rather as a prize, or a prey, which they wanted to seize upon, and almost owned themselves, that tyranny was the object of their wifnes. But Brutus is freely abfolved from all suspicions of this kind; even his enemies did him justice with regard to this point, and Antony was heard to fay more than once, that he thought Brutus was the only perfon, who in conspiring against Cæsar, had only regarded the glory of an enterprize, which to him appeared to be good and highly commendable; but that the reft were influenced by hatred and envy.

The conduct of Brutus being fo pure and elevated, it is not furprifing that his language should be lofty. When he faw himself near the crisis, which was to determine his fate, he wrote to Atticus, that his fortune was as happy as he could wish it. " For, said he, either by gaining the victory, I shall restore liberty to the "Romans, or by dying, I shall be delivered " from flavery myself. Thus I run no great e rifk, my condition is fixed, and the only incertainty that remains, is to know whether "I shall live free, or carry my liberty with me " to the grave. It is Marc Antony, added he, " who henceforward must suffer for his folly. " He might have been put in the rank with Brutus, Cafflus, and Cato; but he chose ra-" ther to put himself in the second rank to Octavius, with whom he will foon be obliged to fight himfelf, unless he happens to be "overcome by us." Thefe last words were a:

K 2

kind

EMILIUS II. and MUNATIUS Confuls. 132

Ant. C. 43.

A. R. 709 kind of gentle rebuke, which Brutus gave to Atticus, on account of his connexions and friendship with Antony, and they contained a prediction which was verified in the event. Plutarch observes, upon the first part of this fragment, that it is easy to see, that Brutus confided chiefly in his virtue, and not in his fea or land forces, how great foever they were, But it will appear at his death, as I have already hinted, that the hopes of fuccess added greatly to his firmness.

A pretended apparivered to Brutus.

Brutus and Caffius having happily and speedily finished what they had to do in Asia, tion disco- thought next of passing into Europe, in order to meet the Triumviri, who prepared to attack them, of It was about this time that Plutarch mentions a pretended apparition, which shewed itself, as is said, to Brutus. This story is related so seriously by that great historian, and is become so famous, that I cannot allow myfelf to pass it over in silence.

I have already mentioned Brutus's watchings. He naturally flept but very little, and he had increased by habit this natural disposition, which was greatly affifted by his great fobriety. He never allowed himself to sleep in the daytime, and he allotted only that part of the night for it when no business can be done, nor any person treated with, because all the world is at rest. But especially in the time of which we are now speaking, when a load of such important cares oppressed him, and inevitable inquietude in so remarkable a crisis disturbed his brain, when he had flept a few moments after his evening repast, which was the only one he made, he fet about regulating his necessary affairs; and he employed the remaining kind

maining time in reading 'till the third watch, A. R. 710. which was the hour when the general officers went to the tent to receive his orders.

Plutarch then relates, that in the middle of the night, when the whole camp was perfectly quiet; Brutus was bufy, according to custom, alone in his tent; which was but indifferently lighted. On a fudden he thought he heard a noise as if some body entered, and looking to the door of the tent, he perceived a gigantick body, with a frightful aspect, place itself before him, without pronouncing one fingle word. He had the courage to ask it, " Who of men "or of the gods art thou? and who hath 5 brought thee hither ? 6 Brutus, answered the phantom, " I am thy evil genius, thou " shalt see me again near Philippi. Very well, " replied Brutus without being discomposed, " we shall see each other again." The phantom disapeared; and Brutus called his servants, who told him they had neither feen nor heard anything. He again applied himself to his business, but being struck with so strange a vision, he mentioned it next day to Cassius, who being an Epicurean, and confequently neither believing a spirit distinguished from matter, nor providence, attributed all that happened to a fally of imagination, overheated by continual application and difquietude. "For, faid he, there is no probability that there are genil; in nor, supposing them to exist, that they have the human form or voice, or any " power to act upon us. And indeed I should " be very glad if they did really exist, in order that we might reckon not only upon our armies and our fleets, but further upon the affiftance of the gods themselves, who K 3 " could

EMILIUS II. and MUNATIUS, Confuls. 134

A. R. 710. " could not be wanting in an enterprize fo Ast, 2, 42. " just, honourable and facred, as that of " which we are the chiefs." and add of maw.

'Tis thus that Plutarch relates the flory:

and that nothing might be wanting, the spectie comes faithfully to the rendezvouz, and shews ittelf again to Brutus the day before his death; Flor. IV. but without fpeaking. Appian's account is conformed to Plutarch's, and that of Florus precoded them both. But these authorities, which doubtless are sufficient to give credit to an event in the order of nature, are not, in my opinion, strong enough to support fach an abfurd prodigy. None of these writers quotes fo much as one fingle co-temporary witness; none of them mentions it as being received from Brutus, or from any one to whom he had discovered it. Besides I find the fame flory repeated, with almost the fame circumstances, by Valerius Maximus, who relates it of Cassius of Parma. In fine, what makes me reject the teltimony of these authors in this affair without any foruple, is the credulity which is common to them, with the most part of the ancients, with regard to prodigies. They relate, for example, with the greatest affurance, that two eagles lighted upon the two principal standards of the two legions of

> Brutus and Caffius; that they accompanied the army in its march till the night before the battle of Philippi, and then flew away. This fory, certainly, is not very probable; but suppose it was true, what conclusion could be drawn from it? or what should render it worthy to be mentioned in history? Besides they relate as imiraculous prefages, the most sample things in the world; fuch as the want

Val. Max I. 7.

7.

of address or attention in a person who pre- A. R. 710. fented a crown to Caffius reversed, instead of Ant. C. 42.
placing it right upon his head. Writers so very superstitious, may very well be suspected to have received, without examining, this strange account, which had no other foun-

dation than the popular tradition.

Brutus and Caffius paffed from Afia into Offavius Europe without any obstacle. Octavius and and An-Antony were still in Italy, and two of their tony cross licutenants, Norbanus and Decidius Saxa, whom and enter they had fent before them with eight legions, Macedonia marched thro Epirus and Macedonia. These with their two officers of the Triumviri march'd with troops. their troops beyond Philippi, and encamped at the entry of a pass formed by two mouncains, which left only a very narrow space betwist them, being the only commodious palfage from Cherionefus of Thrace into Macedonia. They had then behind them Philippi, and upon the right, towards the sea, Neapolis, a fea-port situated over against the island of Thafos. There they expected their generals, who were not a little embarras'd to pass from Brundusium into Epirus. 01

For as the chiefs of the Republican party had powerful naval forces, Statius Murcus was detached by Cassius at the head of fixty fail, after staying some time before the Promontory of * Tenarus, to hinder and dispute * Cape the passage of the Egyptian sleet, which Cleopa-in the tra sent to affift the Triumviri; as soon as he knew that that fleet was destroyed, he came the Mores. to post himself before the port of Brunduflum, in order to prevent any from going out. Belides Sextus Pompeius being mafter of great part of Sicily, as I faid before, was a thorn which K 4

A. R. 710. which they would have been very glad to pull out, before they embarked on their great enterprize. He distressed Rome and Italy by famine, feizing all the provisions which were fent to them by fea, and had it likewise in his power to hinder provisions and ammunition from arriving to them, when they should get into Macedonia. For these reasons, and as besides they did not think it difficult to reduce an enemy who was, properly speaking, no more than a pyrate, while Antony was using means in Brundusium to transport the troops into Epirus, Octavius fent Salvidienus, with all the veffels he had against Sextus Pompeius, and transported himself to Reggio, to animate the war by his presence.

This was not so easily done as the Triumviri had imagined. Sextus had made good use of the time, when he was allowed to remain quiet, in acquiring confiderable maritime forces. Only at the approach of Salvidienus, he left off infefting the coast of Italy, and contented himself with defending Sicily. Octavius was so ill provided with vessels, that his lieutenant try'd to build, in imitation of what he had feen practifed in Gaul, small barks of a light wood, covered with cow hides. But thefe little vessels were not proper to sustain the violence of the waves in the Streights of Sicily, and only occasion'd diversion to the enemy. Octavius, however, took with him a fleet, and they had a naval engagement near the Sciglio. rock of * Scylla, in which Sextus had the better, Octavius, not fucceeding by force,

had recourse to stratagem, and sought an opportunity of transporting his troops by flealth, not doubting but if he could once land

Mulich

Celas

his legions in Sicily, their valour and ex- A.R. 710: perience would affure him of the victory. But all was to no purpose; the coasts were too well guarded; and as Antony, who, in the mean time, found himself greatly distressed by Murcus in Brundusium, demanded, in the most preffing manner, the succours and conjunction of his colleague, he was obliged to drop his defign of pushing Sextus. Wherefore leaving only as many troops behind them as was necessary to defend the coast of Italy, he went to join Antony with the rest of his forces. When he took his leave, he promised to those of Reggio and Vibo, that he would blot out their towns from the number of those who were to be given, together with their territories, as a reward to the foldiers. The motive of this promise, was the fear he was in lest these two towns, so very near Sicily, should deliver themselves to Sextus, to prevent the misfortunes with which they were threatened.

The arrival of Octavius's fleet at Brundusium. foon changed the fituation of affairs. Murcus thought it most advisable to take the sea, and even to approach the coasts of Epirus, continuing however always to watch the troop's of the Triumviri in their passage. But whether it was owing to want of capacity or attention on his part, or particular circumstances of winds or tides favourable to the Triumviri, all their troops and themselves were happily transported at divers voyages. Octavius was ill, and he was obliged to remain at Dyrrachium, while Antony advanced as fast as possible to join Norbanus and Saxa. Murcus confounded and despairing at the bad fuccess thelmid 3

EMILITUS II. and MUNATIUS, Confuls. 138

A. R. 710. fuccess of his undertaking, continued always cruifing on the same seas, to hinder the convoys they might attempt to fend from Italy to Macedonia, and he was affifted in this important operation by Domitius Ahenobarbus, whom Cassius sent to him with a fleet of fifty veffels on autoput

Brutus and Caffins being Ceftos, rewiew their troops ..

Antony however did not find Norbanus and Saxa in possession of the pass, which I mentioned before, on the other fide of Philippi. They had been obliged to abandon it, and retreat as far as Amphipolis; for Brutus and Cassius had lost no time. Being arrived at Ceftos, after they had marched thro' Cherfonefus, they review'd their army, and found it arrived at to confift of one and twenty legions, not quite complete, but nevertheless amounting to the number of fourscore thousand fighting men, They had besides twenty thousand auxiliary cavalry of all nations; Gauls, Spaniards, Medes, Parthians, Arabians, Galatians, and also Thracians. Those last had for their chief Rhefcuporis. whose brother Rhascus followed the contrary party. It was by agreement, and out of policy, which has frequently been practifed fince in like cases, that these two princes were thus divided between two formidable powers, who came to fight in their country. Their intention was, that which ever should have the good fortune to be on the conquering fide, should protect the other.

The magnificent appearance of the army.

This review presented the most beautiful fight that was possible to be imagin'd. For Brutus, who was a great lover of simplicity in every thing elfe, and demanded of his febalterns the same modesty of which he fet them an example, loved rich armour, and pleafed

himfelf

himfelf in ornamenting it with gold and filver. A. R. 76. He imagined that this magnificence was proper to exalt the courage of those who were susceptible of elevated tentiments; and that the value of the metal interesting others to preferve their arms, would be a motive for them to fight more valiantly. He had for the hauthor and example of this way of thinking the great Casar, who followed that practice from the fame principle day slow to ment

as Brutus and Caffius accompanied the ceremony of the review with a speech to the foldiers. As great part of these troops had formerly dought for Cæfar, they thought it necessary to lay before them the great and just motives which ought to attach them to the cause which they now undertook to defend.

For this purpose they raised a Tribunal, upon the top of which were placed the two generals, having about them all the Senators of their parcy. Caffius harangued the troops, Brutus having imposed upon himself this law, as I have faid, to yield to him in every thing the distinctions of honour and pre-eminence.

To the speech they join'd another kind Money difof argument, which operated more effect tributed to tually on the minds of the foldiers, and this the foldiers. was a large distribution of money. As they had amais'd great riches in the opulent countries of Afia, they found themselves in a contida pailings, without one affiliance of Rhef-

Osber great sum bave ing to decide the qualities, "? been of a contrary opinion. See, fall only remark, that the

upon this subject, the examples, consurers of this magnificence and authorities, for and a- in armour, have been compains it, collected by M. Rol-monly such as could not at-the, Hist. Anc. T. VIII. I. take to it. XVII. 5 5. Wiebout pretend- Alley year out was

140

A.R. 719. dition to give to each foldier fifteen hundred Ant. C. 42. denarii (one and thirty pounds five shillings) five times as much to each of the captains, and to the tribunes in proportion. They even added particular gratifications to those who diftinguished themselves by their bravery. They observed great order in this distribution; for as foon as each had received his prefent, he marched off towards the Hebrus, and made room for those who were to follow. The general rendezvouz where the army was to afsemble was the plain of Dorisea, celebrated in hiftory for the review which Xerxes made

Brutus and From Dorifea Brutus and Caffins continued to vance be-march towards the East, coasting along the your Phi. Shore, and accompanied by a fleet commanded by Tillius Cimber, who frequently landed, and marked out the proper places for their having about them all the Sectionedmanner.

there formerly of his innumerable troops.

Norbanus and Saxa had not fufficient forces to refult to formidable an army Saxa who was advanced nearer the enemy, marched back to Norbanus, and having joined their forces, they hoped that the advantage of their fituation would make amends for their weakness and that they might be able to maintain their ground in the narrow passage in which they were posted. Brutus and Cassius would have been very much embarrafied to have forced this passage, without the assistance of Rhescuporis. That prince, being a native of the country, shewed them a way thro' the mountains, but where they had no water, and fo covered with bushes, thickets, and woods, that they were obliged almost at every step to clear the way with the hatchet by cutting down nobib

down the trees, which hindered their paffage, A.R. 710. They appointed him a number of picked men, at the head of whom was Bibulus, fon-in-law of * Brutus. These took with them provisions and water for three days, and after incredible fatigues, when they had begun to murmur against Rhescuporis, and to suspect him of treachery, at last, the fourth day, they perceived the plain and the river. Upon this they gave a loud fhout of joy, and it was that which faved Norbanus and Saxa, who must otherwise have been surrounded. Rhascus who, as I have faid, was in their camp, gueffed at the meaning of the shout, and, extremely furprifed that troops should be able to pass by a way which he thought scarcely practicable for wild beafts, immediately gave notice of it to the lieutenants of the Triumviri, who retired in hafte to Amphipolis. Thusthe Republican chiefs found the paffes open, and marched on to the other fide of Philippi, where they happened upon a ground very advantageous for encampment, where they might expect the enemy. Appian gives a description of those places, which will throw a great deal of light upon the account we are to give of what happened there or grove in made or and

The City of Philippi, formerly Datus, and A debefore that Crenides, took the name which it had scription of at the time I am now speaking of, from Philip, the country the first author of the Macedonian Grandeur, city of who had fortified that place, as proper to keep Philippi. the Thracians in awe. It was fituated upon a mountain, all which it covered, even to the

He was son of Portia, the famous Bibulus, colleague who before she espoused Brutus, and enemy of Casar.

A. R. 710 out-let of the paffes, thro' which the army of Ant. C.42- Brutus and Caffius marched. Towards the West there was a plain below it, which stretched itself out in a gentle declivity, almost fif teen leagues, as far as the river Strymon. In this plain, about two miles from the town, were two little hills; at about a mile's distance from each other, and defended on one fide by those mountains, which the Roman detachment under the conduct of Rheseuporis had fuch difficulty to pais over, and on the other by a morals, which communicated with the fea. It was upon these two hills that Brutus and Caffius fixed their camps; Brutus on the hill towards the North, and Cassius on that towards the South; and in the intermediate space which separated them, they cast up lines and a parapet from one hill to the other. Thus they kept a firm communication between the two camps, which mutually defended each other, as if they had been only one; while in the mean time they were really diftinct, and this distinction procured to each of them greater facility in keeping their men together, and making them observe proper discipline. add to

This encampment was extremely commodic ous to them, in every respect. The heights which they occupied, preferved them from being attacked, and put them in a condition to keep upon the defensive, if they judged it proper. On the other hand, if they choic to fight, they had before them a large plain, to draw up their numerous armies upon. A fmall river called Ganga, or Gangites, ran at the bettom of their camps. Behind them was the fea, which furnished them with all kinds of provisions, which they could stand in need of.

The

The encampment of Brutus and Caffius.

The illand of Thasos, at twelve miles distance, A.R. 710. ferved them for a general magazine; and at Am, C. 45. the distance of nine miles, the town of Neapolis opened its port to their fleet, and there kept it fectare. So advantageous a fituation determined them not to go far off, and if they had even inclined to it, they would have found it very difficult. For Antony, upon the news Antony that Norbanus and Saxa had been obliged to and afterretreat, fearing left he should lose Amphi-wards Ocpolis, made fuch long forced marches, that he rive oppoarrived much fooner than he was expected.

He had the fatisfaction to find not only his them, and lieutenants mafters of Amphipolis, but the encamp at tout fortified, and put in a posture of defence. a small distance. The He there deposited all the baggage, leaving a difadvanlegion to defend it; while with the rest of his tage of troops he advanced towards the enemy, and their

encamped at only a mile's diffance.

This boldness altonished Brutus and Caffius: and fo much the more, that in the disposition of the camps, all the difadvantage lay on Antony's fide. He encamped on the plain; and his adversaries on the riling ground. They had their wood from vast forests, which were at their command and he from marshes, which formified him more with reeds, than wood proper for palifadoes. A river supplied them very commodiously with plenty of water, for which the other was obliged to dig wells. In fhort the provisions came to them from Phasos. an island at a small distance from them; while Antony was obliged to bring his from Amphipolis, almost at the distance of fifteen leagues. And, what is still more considerable, the Republican Chiefs were fure of fublistence from Asia, and all the East which depended upon Octavius them,

ÆMILIUS II. and MUNATIUS Confuls. 144

A.R. 710 them, while the Triumviri had no resource Ant. C. 42. but Macedonia and Thessaly, because the fleets of Murcus and Domitius on one fide, and of Sextus Pompeius on the other, hindered them from getting any provisions, either from Italy, Spain, or Africa. Belides they were run fhort of money, and upon reviewing their armies. instead of being able to imitate the magnificence of their enemies, they were reduced to distribute to each foldier, by way of prefent, twenty five denarii only good dout about siloq

Weak in so many different respects, they had only the advantage over the others in this, viz. the experienced valour and number of their troops. After Octavius had joined Antony, their combined armies confifted of nine-PARTE . YES teen * legions, composed chiefly of Cæsar's old foldiers, and not only complete as to their number, but even augmented by a great many fupernumeraries. Thus their infantry amounted at least to one hundred thousand men. But their cavalry was less numerous than that of the enemy, for they had only thirteen thousand horse to twenty thousand of theirs. If we call to mind what we have faid of the forces of the Republican party, we shall fee that two such powerful Roman armies never before fought against one another.

> cording to Appian, that in the conference in the island of the Reno, it bad been agreed upon that Odavius and Antony fould cross the feas, each at no more than nineteen, to much smaller number. water tepretable notify

I have faid before, ac- which there is only one to be added, which Antony bad left at Amphipolis to guard the baggage. It may be supposed that the forty legions, which were mentioned before, being the head of twenty legions. far from complete, the Trium-Here the fame Appian mentions wiri had reduced them to a

Ant. C. 42.

Octavius did not make them wait long for A. R. 710. him; on the contrary he had made all the expedition possible, not being willing that the affair should be determined in his absence, and fearing little less a victory obtained by his colleague without him, than one obtained by his enemies. From this motive he remained no longer at Dyrrachium than the violence of the difease absolutely obliged him to; and at the end of ten days, tho' he was very far from being perfectly recovered, he began to march with his army. After the two Triumviri were joined, they placed themselves in such a manner, that Octavius was opposite to Brutus and Antony to Caffius. 2745 and to 1. 19 500 18, 240

Their scheme and interest was to bring on a The state general action as foon as possible. They then battle of

offered battle to the enemy, who for the con- Philippi. trary reason would not engage, and contented themselves with drawing up their troops at the head of their camps, but without leaving the high ground, or going down into the plain. Caffius especially, who understood war very well, was strongly attached to the scheme of letting the army of the Triumviri decay with famine, which must certainly have been the case in a short time. With this view, on Antony's arrival, knowing the bold and enterprizing character of the general who was opposed to him, he applied himself to fortify his entrenchments more and more. And as between the left wing of his camp and the morafs which I have mentioned, there remained a small spot of ground, he drew a line from his camp to the morals well palifadoed, to prevent all furprize, and fecure his rear.

A. R. 710. Ant. C. 42.

Appian does honour to Antony, for having by his boldness and ability, forced Cassius to fight. He favs, that while he amused the enemy, by drawing out his men every day in order of battle, he detached fome cohorts to work conftantly, in order to make the morafs passable, and then to establish lodgments between the camp of Caffius, and the island of Phasos. They beat down the reeds which were on a line with the work they had begun, and formed a causeway, which they made firm on each fide with a wall of ftones; and when they met with any place where the marsh was too deep, they threw a bridge over it. In fhort, at the end of ten days and nights the work was finished, without the workmen's having been observed by the enemy, because they were covered with a thicket of reeds, which was between them and the camp of Caffius. This general was not apprized of fo tedious and important a work, till he discover'd the forts which feveral of Antony's cohorts had raised, and where they had lodged themselves. Strangely surprized at the boldness and success of the undertaking, he refolved to raife a work of the fame kind in the morafs, and to make a road which should go from his camp to that of Antony, should cut the other, and thus break the communication between Antony's camp, and the forts which were raifed behind his. In order to hinder this work, Antony in presence of all the army, went at noon to attack furiously the lines which Cassius had drawn from his camp to the morals. The feguel of the narration appears to me not eafily comprehended. According to him, the troops of Brutus, thinking themselves insulted by An-1 A 2

tony's boldness, fell immediately upon him, A. R. 710. without waiting for the order of their general. and then turned themselves against Octavius's army, which was opposite to them. These motions appear to me to be very irregular. But however it be, it was this affault given by Anteny to the lines of Caffins, which gave occasion to a general battle, according to Ap-

pian's account of it.

Plutarch relates the affair in quite a different manner, and will have it, that the battle was the effect not of any accident, but of a deliberate resolution, which had been taken in council between Brutus and Cassius, and of which he gives a full account. Cassius opposed this plan, as I have said, but Brutus at last overcame his reluctance. He wanted to have the affair decided in the speediest manner, in order either to terminate quickly the flavery of his country, or the miseries and disquiets which mankind fuffer in war. He was strengthened in this resolution by the advantages which his cavalry gained in different skirmishes, over that of the enemy. In short, fome diffentions, and suspicions of the fidelity of several of the officers, determined a number even of Cassius's friends to be of Brutus's opinion. There was only one of Brutus's friends, named Atilius, who was for delaying and putting off the time till winter. Brutus having asked him, in full council, what motive influenced him to be of that opinion: " At least, answered Atilius, I shall have a " longer time to live." This expression which denoted despair, displeased every body exceedingly, and Cassius seeing himself so ill supported, and always alone in his opinion, con-L 2 fented

A. R. 710. fented to a battle entirely out of complaifance, Ant. C. 43. and against the conviction of his own mind. What he faid to Messalla was a proof of this. After fupper, which was but a dull one, and during which Caffius, who was naturally gay, appear'd extremely pensive, when Messalla retired, he took him by the hand and fpoke to him in Greek: "I take you to witness Mes-" falla, that I am in the case of Pompey, " forced in spite of myself to risk the fate of " my country on the hazard of a fingle action. "However, let us take courage, and place " our hopes on fortune, which can rectify by " one of her caprices, not extraordinary to " her, the wrong resolution which we now " take." Those were the last words of Cassius to Mesfalla. He then embraced him, begging him to fup with him next night, which was his birth-night. Brutus, on the contrary, was full of confidence, and the great maxims of philofophy with which he still encouraged and comforted himself and his friends, were all the entertainment during their repast.

Next morning very early, the fignal of battle, viz. the purple coat of arms, appear'd on the tents of the two generals. Before the troops went out, they talked a little while together on that fpot of ground which feparated the two camps, and Cassius said to Brutus: " I wish we may succeed, and enjoy long to-" gether the fruits of our victory! But you "know very well, that the greatest events " are those whose success is the most uncer-" tain. As then supposing we should fail of " fuccefs, it will not be eafy for us to fee one " another again, tell me what you think of "the choice between flight and death." Brutus Brutus answered him, "When I was young, A.R. 710.

" I ventured to utter, I know not how, a hardy maxim in morality, and dared to

" blame Cato for killing himfelf, maintaining

" that it was neither conformable to the re-

" fpect due to the gods, nor worthy of a man

" of courage, to yield to fortune, and fly from disgrace, instead of supporting it with con-

" stancy. But now finding myself in a critical

" conjuncture, I think quite differently. If

"the gods are not pleased to favour our arms,

" it is not my inclination to run after new hopes, and to try new efforts. I shall lay

down my life, giving thanks to destiny, that I

" have already facrificed to my country on the

"day of the ides of March. Since that time

" I have lived only for her, but have always

" preserved the rights of my liberty and

"glory." Cassius smiled, and embracing Brutus, "Let us go, said he, to fight in this

" disposition. We are sure either of conquer-

"ing, or of not fearing the conquerors."

It may seem surprizing, that Brutus should call it boldness in a person to condemn a voluntary death. This he had imbibed from the maxims of the Stoics, who looked upon suicide as the highest degree of heroism. But we know that other philosophers, more moderate and judicious, have established that maxim which Brutus here retracts, and have thought, which is very true, that it is not allowable for any man to leave, of his own accord, the post in which his general, that is God himself, has placed him.

Vetat Pythagoras in- Dei, de statione decedere, justu imperatoris, id est Cic. de Sen. n. 73.

150 A. R. 710. Ant. C. 42.

The Triumviri did not expect a battle. Antony at the head of his troops proposed to force the lines of Cassius, on the side of the morals (in which Plutarch agrees with Appian): and the army of Octavius was drawn up in order, to support Antony, in case of need. It is certain, however, that the action began by a brisk and unexpected attack on the lines of Cassius. With regard to the plan, prosecution, and history of this great action, I find so much uncertainty and confusion in the account given of it by authors, that I shall content myself to relate, without connexion, the most remarkable circumstances, and such as are allowed to be true without exception.

Brutus is conqueror; Cassius is defeated.

The army of Brutus performed wonders, and indeed too well, without giving attention to the tumultuous cries from the morafs; and even without regarding the orders of the general. They threw themselves with fury upon the troops of Octavius, who were opposite to them, and broke them at the first charge. The legions which formed Brutus's right wing, rushed upon the left of the enemy; and having made them fall back, penetrated as far as the camp, of which they took poffession, after having cut in pieces those who were left to guard it, and then thought of nothing elfe but plunder. Brutus himself was transported with the ardour of his troops, and having crushed the center of Octavius's army, he also penetrated into the camp, where, by an uppardonable blunder, he thought of nothing but pushing the advantage he had gained, perfuading himself that Cassius had the same good fortune.

But it was quite otherwise. The lines of A. R. 710. that unfortunate general were forced, and immediately his cavalry shamefully took flight. There was no effort which he did not try to make his infantry stand, even to the catching hold of the flyers by the arm, feizing himself the colours, and planting them on the ground, as a fignal for them to rally. But he could not inspire his dismayed troops with courage by his valour. His army was entirely put into disorder, and his camp taken by Antony; so that very ill attended, he was obliged to retire under a little hill at some distance.

Brutus had gained a comlete victory. He faw with great fatisfaction the field of battle abandoned by the enemy, and covered with their dead, their camp feized and plunder'd, three of their standards with several colours taken, and carried by his foldiers in triumph. But returning to his own camp, he was furprised and astonished not to find the tent of Cassius standing, and visible as usual above the reft. He observed, with the same astonish. ment, that the ramparts were demolished in feveral places. Then he began to apprehend that a misfortune had happened, and fent orders to those who were scouring the country, to leave off the pursuit, and return to their camp. Thus he disposed himself to repair the difafter of his colleague, but it was too late, and his flow motions only ferved to haften the death of Caffius.

Brutus detached a body of cavalry to find Cassius out Cassius, and bring him back certain news thro' preof him. This detachment having been ob-cipate defferved at a distance, by those who were with pair, kills Cassing (for as to himfelf he did a series in himfelf. Caffius, (for as to himfelf he did not raise his

A R. 710. head,) he imagined them to be his enemies in Ant. C. 42. fearch of him. In the mean time, in order to be positively informed, he ordered an officer, named Titinius, to advance and reconnoitre them. Titinius was joined by Brutus's detachment, who feeing a friend, that was attached to Cassius, and being informed of him that his general was alive, shouted aloud for joy. Those who were more particularly acquainted with him, alighted from their horses, shook hands with him and embraced him; while the rest made a circle round him with all the commotions and noise of immoderate joy, which was the cause of one of the greatest misfortunes, for it was this which deceived Cassius, and persuaded him that Titinius was taken by the enemy. " Must I then, faid he with excef-" five grief, out of love to life, stay to fee " my friend made prisoner before my eyes." He faid no more, but retired into his tent with one of his freedmen, named Pindarus, whom he had kept about his person ever fince the time of the misfortunes of Craffus in the war against the Parthians, that in time of need he might be his last resource, by taking away his life. That freedman then cut off his head, for it was found separated from his body. Pindarus himself appear'd no more after that time, which made fome suspect, but without any probability, that he had done it without and his flow mongons only orders.

Titinius arrived very foon after with the crown, which had been put upon his head by Brutus's party. Struck with the groans and lamentations of the friends of Cassius, he thereby understood the disaster which his slowness had occasioned; and he punished himself

himself for it immediately, by falling on his A. R. 710. fword.

Brutus already knew of the defeat of Cassius, and was informed of his death as he drew near his camp. He ran to him, bathed him with tears, calling him the last of the Romans, and faying, he had no hopes that Rome would ever again produce fo great a man as this resolute enemy of tyranny. Afterwards having caused them to wrap up the body decently, he ordered it to be carried to the island Thasos, there to receive the last honours, for fear that this mournful ceremony, if it was celebrated in the camp, should weaken the courage of the soldiers.

It was only the precipitate despair and false The death heroism of Cassius, which gave the advantage of Cassius of this famous action to the party of the Tri- periority to umviri. Otherwise they were both equal, or the Triumrather the Republicans may be faid to have had viri. the fuperiority. The left wing on both fides was defeated, and one of the camps of each party was forced and taken. But the number of the flain on the fide of the defenders of liberty, was one half less than on that of their enemies, viz. eight thousand instead of sixteen, and the camp which Brutus had taken was common to the two armies of Octavius and Antony, whereas that which Antony forced, belonged to Cassius only; and tho' it was destroyed, yet that of Brutus was still entire, which offered a secure retreat for the vanquished troops. The death of Cassius made the balance incline in favour of those, which, in other respects, were the most unfortunate. It deprived the Republicans of the most skilful general of the two, and Brutus of a companion who was extremely useful to him, in directing

EMILIUS H. and MUNATIUS. Confuls. F54

A. R. 710: his military operations, and ruling the troops. Ant. C. 42. It also gave spirits to the enemy, which before they heard that news, were greatly funk. But when a flave of Cassius came to inform them of it, bringing with him as proofs the coat of arms and fword of his matter, they again took courage, and thought themselves more in a

condition than ever to hope for victory.

Octavius. who was ill, bad but little fare in the action. Vell. II. Flor. IV. Appian. Dio. & Anton.

13.

I have faid nothing of Octavius in this account of the action, because he had no great share in it. He was not yet recovered, however, he made them carry him in a litter into the middle of his troops ranged in order of battle, not out of bravery, but in confequence of a dream of Artorius his physician, who said he had received orders from Minerva to carry Suet. Aug. Octavius out of the camp. This precaution was far from being useless, for if Octavius had remained in the camp, he could not have Plut. Brut. avoided being killed or taken. His litter in which they thought he lay was pierced feveral times, and it was with great difficulty that he escaped from the field of battle. He made Suet. Aug. them carry him as fast as they could towards a morafs, from whence he gained the wing

which Antony commanded,

Pliny fays still more, for he affirms, that Plin. VII. Octavius remained three days concealed in the 45. morafs. This was so little probable, and it is fo natural to think, that the vanquished General would feek and meet with a speedy refuge from the victorious army of his colleague, that I cannot help looking upon this account of Pliny's as a false report, countenanced afterwards by * Antony. In the diffentions which broke

^{*} Pliny seems to derive bis Maccenas, whose testimony must authority from Agrippa and be doubtful in the present cale.

out afterwards between them, they kept with- A. R. 710. in no bounds; and Antony, whose bravery was above all furpicion, took pleasure in casting a reproach of timidity upon Octavius. I am not Flor. IV.7. more furprised at the report spread to the dif- Plut. Ant. advantage of Antony himself, signifying that he was not present at the action. Octavius retorted upon him, and being unjustly reproached by him, attempted to rob him of a glory he justly deserved. The passions of men alter objects to strangely, that it is no easy affair to discover the truth, or even the appearance of it, thro' those clouds which sometimes obscure the most celebrated actions.

The first care of Brutus, when he became Brutus rethe fole general, was to affemble Cassius's animates troops, and rouse up their courage. As they of Cossius's had lost every thing by the plundering their soldiers. camp, he promised them two thousand denarii each, to make up the loss which they had sustained by the enemy. There was nothing more capable of giving them joy and confidence. They admired the magnificence of fuch a gift, and with loud shouts of applause proclaimed Brutus alone invincible and victorious among all the generals who were engaged in the battle. Antony, however, might share this glory with him. Brutus was charmed at the joy he faw arise in the hearts of his vanquished troops, but he durst not yet trust sufficiently to them to accept the challenge which the Triumviri gave him next day. When he

But there is some obscurity in the text; and besides, as bedoes not quote the proper expressions of these two witnesses, we may be allowed to suspect

that be misunderstood them. Any Supposition appears to me more probable than the fact which I bere refute.

A. R. 710 faw them drawn up to offer him battle next Aut. C. 42. day, he kept himself at the head of his campi upon the high grounds; and when weary with waiting he observed them retire, he also sione furprised at the report ipresemble and the ballround

bis fituation.

The embar- Brutus's fituation was extremely embarraffed. rassment of and he met with particular difficulties in each of his two armies, which constrained him very much. The victorious army was overcharged with a vast multitude of prisoners, which were very troublefome to guard. There was especially among them a great number of flaves, which it was not prudent to leave furrounded with arms, for fear they should lay hold of them, and occasion a great deal of disorder. Brutus determined to cause them all to be killed; which refolution was very opposite to the gentleness of his character, but which he thought justifiable, as well from necessity, as the example of the enemy, who had killed all their prisoners. With regard to those who were free, who were taken in the battle, he fent back a great many of them, telling them, that they ought not to suppose that they had been taken by him, but more justly by his enemies; for in the camp of the Triumviri they were prisoners and slaves, but free and citizens in that of Brutus. However, it was not possible for him to execute at large those generous fentiments, the cruel zeal of his friends, and the principal officers of his army being fo greatly exasperated, that it was necessary, in order to fave those unfortunate prisoners, to procure them the means of hiding themfelves, or escaping by flight.

His friends were especially inexorable with respect to two buffoons, one of which Plutarch

calls

Dio.

calls Volumnius, and the other Saculio. They A. R. 710. brought these two men to him, accusing them of continuing still their low buffoonries, even at the expence of their vanquishers. Brutus, who was engaged in affairs of more importance. did not speak a word, and Messalla, who was present, said, that if they believed the accusation to be true, he thought they should begin with whiping them them heartily, and then fend them back to the Triumviri to make them ashamed of the company they kept even in time of war. This propolal of Messalla's diverted a great many. But Casca, he who gave the first blow to Cæsar, was greatly displeased " It is not, fays he, by indecent jokes " and pleafantries that we ought to express " our regret for the death of Cassius." And addressing himself to Brutus, he added, "You " will testify what sentiments you preserve " with regard to your colleague, according as " you punish or spare those who infult his me-"mory." Brutus, offended at this rude expression of Casca, "Why do you then, anfwered he, trouble me with your questions? " why do not you execute your pleafure up-" on them?" This answer was taken for a confent. They then brought out thefe two miferable buffoons, and made them pay with their lives for the impertinence of their tongues.

The army of Cassius gave still more trouble to Brutus. These vanquished troops, deprived of the chief who used to command them, were timid before the enemy, and arrogant with regard to their new general. Brutus, who was good natured, and more inclined to make use of reason and gentle methods, than the rigour of command, could hardly restrain his

fol tiers.

158 ÆMILIUS II. and MUNATIUS, Confuts.

Ant. C. 42. He was even afraid that they should give ear to the sollicitations of the Triumviri, who dispersed letters among them, inviting them to desert under very great promises. These difficulties disturbed his constancy, and disposed him to throw off, in some measure, the principles of humanity and elemency, which, till that time, had been the chief object of his conduct. In order to fix those restless spirits, who had it in their power at any time to escape from him, he promised to his army after the victory, the plunder of two of the most flourishing towns of Greece, Thessalonica and Lacedæmon.

Plutarch² looks upon that as the only reproach on the character of Brutus, which would admit of no apology. It is true, fays that grave author, that Octavius and Antony allowed their foldiers rewards still more odious, seeing they drove almost all the old inhabitants out of Italy, to distribute their lands and houses to their troops. But there was a great difference between the Triumviri and Brutus. The former

Τύτο τῷ Βρύτυ ઉἰω μόνον ενεςι τῶν ἐγκλημάτων ἀναπολόγηθον ἐι κὰ ψολὰ τύτων δεινότερα νικητήρια τοῖς κραἰευομένοις Αντώνι κὰ Καῖσαρ ἐξέτεσαν, ὁλίγυ δεῖν ψάσης Ιταλαίς τὰς ψαλαίως ὁικήτορας ἐξελάσαντες, ἴνα χώραν ἐκείνοι κὰ ψόλεις τὰς μὰ ψροσηκύσας λάδωσιν. ἀλλά τύτοις μὲν ἄρχειν κὰ κραἰεῖν ὑπέκειτο τὸ τὰ ψολίμυ Ιέλος. Βρύτω δὶ διὰ δόξαν ἀρητῆς ὕτε νικῶν ὅτε σώζισθαι συνεχωρεῖτο ψαρᾶ τῶν Φολλῶν, ἡ μετὰ τὰ καλῦ

κή δικάιυ κή ταυτα, Κασσίυ τεθνηκότος, δς αίδιαν έιχεν κή Βρύτον ένάγειν έις ένια των διαιοτέρων. 'Αλλ' ώσπες έν πλώ σηθαλίω συντριδέντος έτερα ξύλα προσηλών κή προσαρμό τλειν έπιχειρώσει, έκ έν μέν, αναγκαία δί μηχανώμενοι πρός την χρέιαν. Ευτώ Βρώτος είν δυνώμει τοσαύτη κή μεθεώροις πρωγμάσει κα έχων έσοξοπώντα τραθηγών ήνακαζετο λοπώντα τος παρώσι, κή πολλά πράσσειν κή λέγειν των έκέενοις δοπώντων.

Ant. C. 42.

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as end which

THE GUSTON

had no other motive than to fatisfy their am- A. R. 710. bition, and they only made war to render themfelves mafters of the Empire. But as Brutus. on the contrary, professed the highest virtue, it was not allowable for him neither to vanouish nor to fave himfelf from danger, but by means which were strictly just and honourable; especially after the death of Caffius, who was blamed for having fometimes forced his colleague to violent measures. But such is the fatality of certain conjunctures. In a voyage, if the rudder of the ship happens to be broke, they endeavour to repair it with other pieces of wood, as well as possible, which indeed have not quite the defired effect, but however are necessary for the present purpose. In the fame manner Brutus, finding himself in a very troublefome fituation, only thought of providing against the most pressing incidents. He could no longer keep the equilibrium, because he wanted Caffius, who had ferved him as a counter-poise; and allowed himself to be led, almost against his will, by the counsels of those who were about him, and to whom every thing appeared right which tended to calm the foldiers of Caffius.

The Triumviri had the advantage, in being able to trust to the fidelity of their troops; but in every other particular they were in a much worse condition than their enemies. They began to fuffer from famine; their camp was fituated low, bordering upon marshes, and confequently unhealthy and incommodious. The autumnal rains having come on fince the battle, their tents were filled with mud, and a great quantity of rain which froze immediately. To add to their misfortunes, they were informed

The fleet which be had in the Ionian sea destroys a powerful reinforcequas fent to the Triumwiri.

A. R. 710. formed that a powerful reinforcement, which was fent to them from Italy by fea, had been beaten, dispersed, and utterly ruined by the combined fleets of Murcus and Ahenobarbus. That reinforcement confisted of two Legions, one of which was the Martial, fo renowned for its bravery; besides a Pretorian Cohort of one ment which of the Triumviri, amounting to two thousand men; as also between ten and twelve hundred horse, and some new raised troops, whose number is not specified. All these troops being embarked on board transports, under the escort of some vessels of war, the Republican admirals, who guarded the coast of Epirus and Illyrium, came to meet them with a fleet of one hundred and thirty gallies, each having three rows of oars. The engagement was very hot, and, if valour could have determined the fuccess, the Triumviri's troops must have had the advantage. But the inequality was too great between trading vessels, and armed gallies; and the small number of those which served to escort the convoy, was overcome by the multitude of the enemies vessels. They all either perished by the sword or fire, or saw themselves obliged to yield to the vanquishers, and take part with them. There were some few who faved themselves on the rocks, or on desert islands, and there, wanting every thing, hunger constrained them to gnaw the fails and cordage, and they endeavoured to quench their thirst by licking pitch and tar.

Octavius and Antony were punctually informed of this difafter; and this was a fresh motive for them to try by all manner of ways, and at any rate, to bring Brutus to an action. But he, by an unexplicable piece of ill fortune,

heard

heard nothing of this engagement, tho' it hap. A. R. 710. pened the same day with the battle before men- He is not tioned, till twenty days after, that is till the fe- informed of cond battle of Philippi. If Brutus had been that imporinformed of the victory of his fleet, it is very tant event. certain that he would not have hazarded this of Plufecond battle. For being sufficiently stocked tarch on with all forts of provisions, advantageously this subject. fituated, and befides all this, mafter of the fea. he would have reduced his enemies to perish by famine and mifery in their camp, which the winter, that fast approached, would very foon have obliged them to abandon; and if they had wanted to return to Italy, the Republican fleet would render the paffage impossible, or at least very difficult and hazardous. Plutarch acknowledges here a fingular attention and an express determination of providence. The *Empire, fays he, could not be governed by an authority divided amongst several, but stood in need of one chief. Thus the Gods, willing to remove the only man who could fland in the way of him whom they designed master of the universe, hindered Brutus from receiving advantage from an event, which would have affured him of the victory. He was within a very little of receiving this information, which if he had, would have entirely changed the face of affairs. For the evening before the fecond battle of Philippi, a deferter, named Clodius, came into his camp, and told this piece of news, as a thing which was publick in rie had fall the saventa e, when

επέτι πολλοίς όντων καθικίων, δυναμένω Εμλόμενο άπεκαψο άλλα μοναρχίας δεομένων, ο την τύχην έκείνην. Deds दिवंपुराण में मारवहनेजवा रहे।

^{*} Των σεαγμάτων, ως έιοκεν, μάνον έμποδων όντα των κεαθείν

EMILIUS II. and MUNATIUS. Confuls.

A. R. 710. the army of the Triumviri. But they despised Aut. C, 42 his information, looking on it as a piece of flattery, by which this deferter wanted to make his court to his new friends. In short, they were not at the pains of communicating it to Brutus.

battle of Philippi.

The second Next morning, the armies being drawn up in order of battle, they remained a long while opposite to each other, without offering to engage. Brutus did not see among his troops, an air of joy and ardour, which could inspire him with the affurance of vanquishing. The cavalry were in no manner of hurry to begin the fight, waiting till the infantry should shew them the example. Belides, while he reviewed the ranks, he received feveral informations. which made him suspect the fidelity of a good many of the officers, and a great number of the troops; and these suspicions were the more eafily credited by him, as Cæfar's old foldiers. which chiefly composed his army, might naturally be supposed to preserve an attachment to that party which they formerly belonged to. In short, a brave officer named Camulatus, who had been honoured with remarkable prefents for his valour, deferred to the enemy in the fight of Brutus. This grieved him excessively; and partly through indignation, and partly through tear of a greater defertion, he immediately gave the figual, and began the attack towards the ninth hour of the day, that is to fay, within three hours of funfet. o only

He had still the advantage, where he commanded in person. At the head of his infantry he bore down the enemy; and, supported by his cavalry, he made a very great flaughter, and followed them a long way. But his left

wing

YEAR PERSONAL PROPERTY.

wing fearing to be taken in flank, firetched it A. R. 710. felf out in order to enlarge its front; by means of which the middle became too weak, to refift the violent effort of the troops of the Triumviri. It was here then that the army of Brutus began to yield. The center being put into diforder, and broken, the Triumviri, careful to make the best use of this first success, instead of amusing themselves with pursuing, killing, and making prisoners, thought only of hindering those troops to rally again, who had begun to retreat. With this defign they feparated from one another; and while Octavius penetrated as far as the enemies camp, and took possession of the posts to cut off the retreat of the fliers. Antony got in behind Brutus, and furrounded him.

Brutus performed wonders in fo preffing an extremity, and acting both with head and hands, he shewed himself equally a soldier and a commander; but he had no body to second him. The troops of Cassius, amongst whom, in the first action, there was more disorder than flaughter, had still preferved an impression of terror, which communicated itself to the rest of the army; whereas, on the fide of the Triumviri, those who were vanquished were cut to pieces at the same time, and left behind them none of that terror with which troops are naturally struck, when opposed to their vanquishers. And thus it appeared to have been a great advantage to Brutus, to have loft fewer in the first engagement than the enemy, and yet this was the cause of his deseat in the second.

Brutus, furrounded with the most valiant The death officers that he had, fought a long while. Here of Cato's it was that a fon of Caro made amends, by a fon. glorious death, for the follies of his youth. Min. & For Brut. M 2

ÆMILIUS II. and MUNATIUS Confuls. 164

A. R. 710. For he had not imitated the discretion and mo-Ant. C. 42. desty of his father, and his connexions with a Cappadocian woman, had brought upon him a great many jefts and railleries. But upon this occasion he appeared worthy of the blood from which he fprung, demonstrating that it is easier to have courage against dangers, or even death itself, than against pleasures. He was always in the heat of the fight, and, overcome with numbers, he neither fled nor retreated; but calling aloud to his enemies, and naming himself by his own name and that of his father, he fell at last upon a heap of dead bodies, with which the ground about him was covered.

Brutusruns and only avoids that misfortune rofity of a friend.

A great many brave men, and among others the risk of the brother of Cassius, perished in this manbeingtaken, ner, fighting beside Brutus. But after great and generous efforts, he was obliged to yield to necessity, and feeing all was lost, he resolved by the gene- to fly, which was no easy matter for him to do. For Antony had expressly ordered, by no means to suffer the Chiefs to escape, for fear they should renew the war. Brutus run a very great risk of being taken, and it was owing to the generosity of a friend that he escaped.

A troop of Thracians were absolutely bent on taking him, and purfued him very close. Lucilius, who accompanied him in his flight, being willing to allow him time to escape, ftopt, and allowed himself to be taken by those barbarians, telling them that he was Brutus; and, to confirm them in their mistake, he entreated them to carry him to Antony, as to an old friend, whereas Octavius was an implacable enemy to Brutus. The Thracians. overjoyed with fo good a prize, returned towards Antony, to whom they dispatched some

The last

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of their companions, to give him notice that A.R. 710. they were bringing Brutus along with them. Antony marched to meet them, followed by a great number of officers and foldiers, whom this report had affembled, fome of whom regretted the bad fortune of fo virtuous a man, while others accused him of degenerating from the glory of his ancestors, in suffering himself, thro' an immoderate defire of life, to become a prey to a troop of Barbarians. When Antony faw run Kalan the Thracians approach, he was a good deal embarraffed, hardly knowing in what manner he ought to receive Brutus. But Lucilius advancing with an air of confidence : " It is not "Brutus, fays he, that is taken, fortune has " not yet had the power of committing fo great an outrage upon virtue. You will "find him, dead or alive, always worthy of " himself. I have deceived your soldiers, and " I present myself before you, ready to suffer " whatever punishment you shall please to in-"flict upon me for my boldness." At this, the joy of the Thracians, who had taken Lucilius prisoner, was changed into shame and indignation, and they appeared quite confounded: "Be not troubled at the mistake, says An-" tony to them, you have taken a much bet-" ter prize, than that which you fought after. "You wanted to take an enemy, and you have " brought me a friend. I take all the Gods " to witness that I should have been very much " troubled to know how to behave to Brutus. " But men, fuch as Lucilius, I love much bet-" ter to have for my friends than my enemies." Having faid this, Antony stretched out his hand to Lucilius, embraced him cordially, and committed him to the charge of one of his friends, M 3

A. R. 710. whom he ordered to take care of him. Lucilius ever after this remained attached to Antony, and preferved for him the fame fidelity which he had shewn to Brutus, and with the fame ill fortune.

In the mean time Brutus had passed over a The last moments of rivulet, the banks of which were covered with Brutus. wood, and very rocky. Night being come His blafon, he did not go far, but fat down in a hol-low place, with his back against a rock. He phemy against wirtue. His had with him a small number of his friends, death. and the first officers of his army, amongst whom was P. Volumnius, whom Plutarch cites as the author of this part of Brutus's life. I shall not scruple to relate all those little circumstances, which Plutarch has taken from these

memoirs.

Brutus lifting up his eyes to heaven, which was all fpangled with ftars, repeated a verie out of the Medea of Euripides, the sense of which is as follows: "O Jupiter, may he who is the occasion of so many mischiefs, not escape thy vengeance." He meant this most probably of Antony, whose affiliance and support he had hoped for, in order to reestablish liberty after the death of Caefar; and who, by embracing the contrary party, was really the cause of all the mischiefs which followed. Brutus added another quotation of a Greek poet; two verses which Volumnius had forgot, but are hinted at by Florus, and mentroned by Dio. It is a blasphemy against virtue. " O unfortunate virtue, lays Her-

" cules,

Τοῦ, μη λάθοι σε τοῦδ δε άντιος κατάν.
Ευτίρ. Med. τ. 332.

Ω τλημον άρετη, λέγος άρ ήσθ έγο δε σε
Ως έργοι ήσκεν σύ δ άρ εδελευες τύχη.

" cules, in that poet, thou art nothing but a A. R. 710. " hame, and I have worthiped thee as if thou

"Hadft been a real good, but thou art only the flave of fortune. "Language of despair, which exposed the constancy that brutus had hitherto shewn, and evidently discovered, that the hope of success was a necessary support to him. It is thus that virtue, which is purely hussian, and not founded upon the revelation of another life, where happiness will always reconcile R-self to virtue, never fails to contradict itself."

Brutus then called to mind, with a great deal of concern, those which he had seen perish in the battle, and particularly regretted Flavius, chief engineer of his army, and Labeo, one of his heatenants, the father of the celebrated lawyer of that name. Mean while one of the company was thirly, and observing Brucus in the fame condition, he took a helmer and went to fetch fome water from the rivulet, which was hard by. In the mean time they heard a note from another quarter, and Volumnius, together with Dardanus, Brutus's equerry, went to fee what was the cause of it. When they came back again they enquired after the water, but it was drank while they were gone. Brurus was still composed enough to finile at this little adventure. The water is drunk, fays he, you must therefore go and bring " thore." The fame perion went again, but he narrowly escaped being taken, and got back with great difficulty, having been wounded.

It would appear that Brutus had still some remains of hope: He imagined that the number of the slain was not so very considerable on his side. Statilius, whom we have already mention'd on the occasion of Cato's death, offered

A. R. 710 to go to make the discovery, and, in case the Amt. C. 42 camp was entire, he promised to hold up a light. The light appear'd, but they waited a long while in vain for the return of Statilius.

"He will certainly return, says Brutus, if he is alive." But he never did, having been met with by a body of the enemy, who killed him.

According to Appian, Brutus passed not only the whole night, but part of the next day, wholly taken up with the care of gathering together the remains of his scattered forces; and now he faw about four legions of them afsembled around him. It was an easy matter to found these troops, and to know their difposition. Being afraid however to do it himfelf, he charged their officers to propose to them, to make an effort to get back again to their camp, and to drive out the enemy from it. The foldiers being discouraged, answered bluntly, that they thought they had done their duty to Brutus, and that nothing remain'd for them, but to make peace with their enemies on the best terms they could. W and of draw

Plutarch makes not the least mention of this attempt, and relates the death of Brutus as happening the same night after the battle,

which account I shall follow.

Statilius not returning, Brutus judged very right, that he was killed; and being positively determined to die himself, he bended a little, still sitting upon the ground, towards one of his slaves, called Clitus, and whispered something to him. The slave kept silence, and answer'd him only with tears. Brutus then called to him Dardanus, his equerry, who giving him no more satisfaction than the slave, he address'd himself

himself to Volumnius, and speaking to him in A.R. 710. Greek, he put him in mind of the maxims of Ant. C, 42. the Stoics upon voluntary death, and the firm courage with which he ought to be provided for fuch a conjuncture. He then intreated him to help him to hold the fword, that he might plunge it in the more forcibly. Volumnius, and all who were present, refused to render him so melancholy a piece of service. And in order to divert it, one of the company told them, that they must not stay in that place where they were, and that it was most advisable for them to fly. "Yes, replied "Brutus brifkly, 'tis necessary to fly, but it " must be with the affistance of the hands and " not of the feet."

He raifed himfelf up, in pronouncing thefe words, and stretching out his hand to each of them with a ferene countenance, he told them, "That it gave him great joy to find that his " friends were all faithful to him, and that if he complain'd of fortune, it was only " with regard to his country. That as to his " own person he looked upon himself as more "happy than the conquerors, not only with " regard to his former fituation, but even at " that very juncture, because he left behind "him a glory of virtue, which neither their " power, nor their arms, could possibly pro-cure to them. That, on the contrary, all " posterity would judge them to be unjust, " who had ruined those who had the best " right; and wicked, for oppressing good " men, in order to usurp an unlawful and ty-" rannical power. " He finished by exhorting and beseeching them to think of securing their lives. The same suffered by fiel and than

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A.R. 710. He then retired to a little diffance, accomwhom was Strato Egeates, who used to direct him in the exercises of eloquence. This Grecian, Brutus depended upon, to affift in difpatching him. Egeates however expressed a great deal of reluctance in taking upon him to shocking an office. But when he law that Brutus had recourse to one of his flaves, it If " you are absolutely determined, say he, I " can never fuffer that you should find more affiliance in a flave than a friend." He then laid fast hold of the handle of the fword, and turning away his face, he kept it firm. Brutus, raising his left arm above his head, feized with his right hand the point of the fword, and, having placed it at the left breaft, opposite the part where the pulsation of the heart is felt, he pushed himself strongly upon It, and died immediately.

Others fay that Strato was only a withels of this bloody scene, and that Brutus holding the fword with his own hand, stabbed himself by falling upon it. But he had no need of affiftance to die in this manner, and befides Plutarch gives us an unexceptionable proof that Strato was more than a spectator on this occasion. For he relates that fome years afterwards, Meffalla, when he was reconciled with Octavius, and in the first rank amongst his friends, presented to him that orator, faying to him with tears in his eyes, "Cæfar, behold him who render'd of to my dear Brutus the last deplorable

" fervice.

When the body of Brutus was brought to Antony, he called to mind his brother Calus, who had been kill'd by that general's order, and

Amierus II. and Munarrus, Confuls.

and reproached his memory with it. How- A.R. 710. ever, he rather chose to lay the fault upon Ant. C. 42. Mortenfius, who had been charged with the execution of the order, and caused him to be killed as a victim due to his vengance. With Antony regard to Brutus, he order'd the last honours causes the to be paid to him, and gave a very magni- to be paid ficent and costly military robe, to cover his to bis body. body with. He even punished vigorously the avarice and infidelity of the freedman, to whom he had committed the care of the funeral, and, who tempted by the richness of the robe, secreted it, instead of burning it with the body. When Antony was informed of it, he caused him to be put to death. The ashes of Brutus were put into an urti, and fent to Ollavius Rome, to his mother Servilia. The head had head to been fever'd from the trunk, before the funeral. Rome. Octavius, far less generous than Antony, was Suet Aug. delighted, and as it were devoted to fatisfy the 13. & Dio. manes of Cæfar, by placing at the foot of his Vel. II. statue in Rome, the head of his murderer, but 72. it was lost at sea, in the passage from Dyrrachium to Italy. Brutus was only in the thirty feventh year of his age when he died.

To finish all that belongs to the history of The death Brunds, it remains that I give an account of the of Portia, death of Portia, his wife, which is related his a shift of very tragical manner. They fay that this heroine, being informed of the melancholy fate of her hulband, resolved not to furvive him. And that, as his friends, and the people in the house, kept her constantly in their fight, and took care to keep all flyarp instruments out of her way, the put live coals into her mouth, and flutting it close suffocated herself. This ftory, tho' supported by the authorities

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A. R. 710. Ant. C. 42. of Nicholaus Damascenus, Valerius Maximus, and Dio, may nevertheless be only fabulous, Plut. and credited from that tafte which men have Pruto. Val. Max. for the marvelous; for Plutarch quotes a let-IV. 6. ter of Brutus, in which he complains of the negligence of his friends with regard to Portia, adt telung who having been feized with a languishing laft boneums to be paid illness, formed a resolution to die without their te bit bein. offering to hinder her. It is true, this historian feems to question the authenticness of that Cic. ad. letter; but among the letters which we have Brut. 1. 9. of Cicero to Brutus, there is one, the subject of which has much embarraffed interpreters, and which evidently appears to be a * letter of consolation on the death of Portia. Thus it

consolation on the death of Portia. Thus it is very probable that Portia was dead before Brutus.

History has preserved to us the names of some illustrious persons, who perished either

of the most some illustrious persons, who perished either illustrious in the battle of Philippi itself, or in consequence per fons of that memorable engagement. Besides the who were fon of Cato, the brother of Cassius, Labeo and flain at Hortenfius, whom I have already mentioned Philippi. Livius I find Varro and Lucullus, according to Va-Drufus, the lerius Maximus, killed by order of Antony, father of Livia, kills and after whom Volumnius, his friend, defired to be put to death, repenting for having enbimfelf. Vel. II. gaged in so unfortunate a party. Quintilius 71. & Val. Max. Varus caused one of his freedmen to kill him, after putting on the ornaments of his dignity. IV. 7. But there was none of them all, whose case was more fingular, or more proper to point out the uncertainty and caprice of human affairs, than Livius Drusus, the father of Livia, who was very foon after married to Octavius,

^{*} This is the opinion of Dr. Middleton in his life of Cicero.

EMILIUS II. and MUNATIUS, Confuls.

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and whose son, Tiberius, was afterwards raised A. R. 710. to be emperor. This fame Drufus killed himfelf in his tent, to avoid falling into the hands of him who was going to be his fon-in-law.

But he would not have obtained any quarter The cruelty of him, for Octavius, who had but a small of Odafhare in the victory, was extremely infolent vius. with regard to the vanquished. He caused to Suet. Aug. be put to death without mercy, all those of 13. diffinguished rank amongst the prisoners, even loading them with infults and bitterest reproaches. To one of them, who had defired him to allow his body to be buried, he told that the vulturs and beafts of prey should be his grave. A father and fon befeeched him to grant them their lives, but he ordered them to cast lots, and had the inhumanity to feast his eyes with the cruel fight, when, refusing to accept of fo barbarous a favour, the father delivered. himself up to the affassins, and the fon killed himself. This unheard of cruelty of his, turned the hearts of all people against him; and when the prisoners, loaded with chains, were brought before the vanquishers, all of them, and particularly Favonius, heartily reproached him, while they faluted Antony with respect, calling him general. I'm val or at some

If we inquire into the cause of this difference of conduct between Octavius and Antony, I believe we shall find no difficulty in accounting for it. Octavius was cruel out of principle, and, wanting to arrive at the fovereign power, he paved the way for it by destroying all those who might possibly preserve the Re-publican spirit of liberty. Wherefore as soon as his wifes were accomplished, and he will talk thought there was no more need of cruelty,

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A. R. 710. he became the most humane of all princes. Antony, who studied humanity more, and politicks less, followed the inclinations of a heart naturally inclined to generosity, and from which, passion alone sometimes biassed it.

The Republican party perisher with Brutus.

With Brutus perished, properly speaking, the Republican party. For those weak efforts which the remains of the armies, both by sea and land, which acknowledged them for their chief, afterwards made, can only be compared to the last convulsions of a dying man. With regard to Sextus Pompeius, who discovered true signs of life, he ought not to be considered as a Republican, but as one whose chief care, as well as the Triumviri, was to satisfy his ambition.

The remains of
the vanquished army surrender themselves to
the Triumviri.

Of the remains of the army vanquished at Philippi, there was affembled a body of about fourteen thousand men, who offered the command to Messalla. Though he was very young, his reputation was great, and, next to Brutus and Cafflus, he made the greatest figure in that party. He gave a proof of his wifdom, in not striving injudiciously against fortune. For in concert with him, whose birth and rank made him in a manner his collegue, that is to fay with Bibulus fon in-law of Brutus, he made use of that authority which these unfortunate troops invested him with, to determine them to fubmit to the conqueriors. who received them very willingly, and divided them amongst their legions.

A fine expression of Messalla to Octavius. Plut. Brut.

I ought to mention here an expression of Messalla to Octavius, though it happened several years after. The judicious and faithful Messalla attached himself to Octavius, and served him very honestly in the war against

Antony.

Antony. Octavius tellifying his acknowledg. A. R. 710. ments to him with some surprise, that after he Ant. C. 42. had been so warm an enemy to him at Philippi, he should give such shining proofs of his attachment to him at Actium. " Be not fur-" prifed at that, replied Messalla, you have always feen me on the best fide of the quefet des la "tion." An expression equally bold and -marga & obliging, and further, strictly true in every circumstance. The cause of Brutus was certainly more just than that of the Triumviri. Between Octavius and Antony, justice was not in the question. But it is certain that the good of the Empire required, that Octavius should be conqueror.

I return to what followed upon the battle of Appian. Philippi. The forts about Philippi, with the troops which possessed them, together with the magazines of the islands of Thalos, fell into the hands of the conquerors; and all the righes which was found in those different places, as well as in the camps of Brutus and Cassius, became the prey of the soldiers.

A squadron commanded by Cassius of Par-The rema, which came from Asia, and did not ar union of all rive till after the battle, with provisions and the naval troops for the Repulican army, was soon aug-the vanmented by the junction of some other small quilhed sleets, which, after Brutus's deseat, were scar-party. tered up and down, without knowing what to do. It was likewise strengthened by a great number of officers and soldiers, who escaped from the battle. The son of cicero, and some other persons of distinction, having escaped from Thasos, went likewise on board this squadron, which by means of those several additions, became a considerable sleet. In this condition

EMILIUS II. and MUNATIUS Confus. 176

A. R. 710. condition they failed to the Ionian fea, and ranked themselves under the command of the admirals, Murcus and Domitius Ahenobarbus.

Murcus conveys part of them to Sextus Pompeius and Domitius, with the other keeps the time with out acknowledging any chief.

There they held a great council of war, the business of which was, what resolution ought to be taken with regard to the shattered remains of a power, which a little before was very formidable. In spite of the defeat at Philippi, the two commanders were equally averse to court the friendship of the Triumviri, who appear'd to them, and not without reason, fea for some deserving their hatred. But though they readily agreed upon what they ought to avoid, they were nevertheless divided in relation to what course was proper for them to follow. Murcus. who had more folid judgment and less vanity, faw that it was not possible for them by themfelves to refift the Triumviri, and was of opinion, that they ought to join Sextus Pompeius, and thereby form the whole enemies of the Triumviri into one body. Domitius, who was proud, couragious, and haughty, jealous of the rights of liberty, and probably of the quality of the chief of the party, could no more prevail upon himself to obey Sextus, than he could fubmit to Antony and Octavius. That ambition which his rank and birth infpired him with, would not allow him to fubmit to any of those, whom he looked upon as no more than his equals. He proposed then to defend the Republick with all the forces which remained, and maintain themselves independent, till the last moment, which alone was worthy of Romans.

Murcus and Domitius not only maintain'd their feveral opinions very warmly, but they put condition

but them in execution. Murcus, with those A. R. 710.

The were willing to follow him, passed into Sicily, and carried with him a great augmention of force to Sextus Pompeius. Domitius was obstinate in keeping the sea as a commander, 'till he was at last obliged to submit to Antony, as we shall see in its proper place.

I must beg leave to propose here, to the Anallegery levers of letters, a thought of my own, concerning that samous allegory of Horace, which has swith regard to been so differently explained, and has relation to these last that circumstance which I have just mentioned. troubles of There the poet represents the Republican party, the Republicans. Horace a shattered vessel, which is destitute of resources Ode I. 14. and which must certainly perish, were it to strike again upon the same shelves upon which it was before shipwrecked. All the parts of this allegory are persectly, explained in the above circumstance.

Horace took, upon this occasion, that That poet resolution which he advised others to. I baving estable have said, that upon sinishing his studies at caped from Athens, he had been taken care of by Brutus, of Philippi, and made a legionary Tribune. He was in finds a rethis 'station at the battle of Philippi, where source in he made no great figure, as to his courage; bis genius for he sled, and threw down his buckler which for poetry. embarrassed him. But if he did not lose his life, he lost all his goods, and the little fortune he had, which was consistented to the vanquishers. We owe to the melancholy situation which he was in at that time, those beautiful pieces of poetry, which have been either the

 Tecum Philippos & celerem fugam Senfi, relictâ non bene parmulâ.

Hor. Od. II. 7.

VOL. XV.

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admiration

Amilius H. and Munatius, Confuls. 178

A. R. 710. admiration of, or afforded an ufeful amufement to, men of letters of all ages. It it poffible enough, he might never have cultivated that happy talent which he had received from nature, had not necessity forced him to it. He has taken care to inform us of this himfelf. " I faved myfelf, fays he, at the battle of 56 Philippi, very much reduced, like a bird "whose wings are cut, and robbed of my " house and the place of my nativity. In " this diffress, bold poverty forced me to make " verses." He had no reason to complain of the Muses; and the favours of Maccenas, which he gain'd by his poetry, reftored to him, with fufficient usury, all that he had loft.

> . Unde simul primam me dimisere Philippi, Decifis humilem pennis, inopemque paterni Et laris & fundi, Paupertas impulit audax Ut versus facerem.

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HE Perulian war. The origin of Antony's love for Cleopatra. A treaty between the Triumviri and Sextus Pompeius. Victories gained by Ventiditis over the Parthians. The war between Octavius and Sextus renewed. An. Rom. 710-715.

The Triambirate becomes triumphant. The Republican party is destroyed. Antony and Octavius make a new division of the provinces bereven them, to the prejudice of Lepidas. Ocsavius returns into Italy, and takes upon him the distribution of the lands promised to the Veteruns. The advantage which he found in this function. The immense number of those whom be bad to recompence. The indisposition of Ostavius at Brandassum. The origin of the Perakan war. The vain character of L. Antonius. The opposite interests of the foldiers, and the possessors of those lands which were appointed for them. The avarice and insolence of the foldiers. A thind interest interfer'd, viz. that of Antony. The fecret motive which ani-mated Fulvia against Octovius. The fruitless attempts of Octovius to hun a war. His artfulness and confrancy. The difference between the forces of Octavius's party, and of that of Lucius. The beginning of the wat. Lucius is befieged in Perufia by Octavius. A famine in Perufia

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Perusia. Lucius goes bimself to find Octavius, in order to surrender at discretion. Good expressions of Octavius, who nevertheless orders bloody executions. The town of Perusia is reduced to asbes, by an unforeseen accident. Lucius's party is absolutely destroyed in Italy. The flight of Ti. Nero, the busband of Livia, and father of the emperor Tiberius. The flight and death of Fulvia. Julia, the mother of Antony, escapes to Sicily, where Sextus Pompeius obliges ber to pass into Greece. Lucius is fent into Spain, with the title of Pro-conful. Antony's mild and topular conduct in Greece. The luxuries of Asia plunge bim into debauckery. Rejoicings in one part, and mourning in the other, in Afia. The simplicity and gentleness of Antony's character, the cause both of good and evil effects. The origin of his passion for Cleopatra. The magnificent and gallant entry of that Princess into Tarsus, where Antony was. The mutual entertainments between Cleopatra and Antony. The charms of Cleopatra's mind were more seducing than those of ber beauty. She subdues Antony. She makes use of ber power over Antony, to confirm to ber self the possession of Egypt. She returns to Alexandria, and Antony presently follows her. The childish amusements and extravagant expences of Antony.

The Triumwiri triamphant. There remained almost none of the Republican forces, and lican party
Lic

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Bruto & Cassio cæsis nulla jam publica arma. Tac.

no formidable enemy to those, who saw all the A. R. 710. rest of the Roman empire submit to their

authority.

According to the terms of that treaty which Antony and was the bafis of the triumviral league, the three Odawius affociated generals were to fhare equally the make a new divifruits of their victory; but the faith of treaties fion of the is very little regarded among ambitious per-provinces fons. Octavius and Antony, who had all the between troops under their command, agreed together prejudice of to fpoil the feeble Lepidus. They accused him Lepidus. of having kept a correspondence with Sextus Dio. 1. Pompeius in their absence, and under this pre-xlviii. tence, but really upon account of his being Civil. l. v. without fupport, as well as without genius, they agreed to appropriate his provinces to themselves; only allowing him, as from a kind of commiferation, Africa, properly so called, provided he was not found blameable.

Octavius, who was not very favourably treated at the first division of the provinces, took care to make amends for himself in this. He took to himself Spain and Numidia, and even detached from Antony's lot Cifalpine Gaul, not • to add it to his own, but in order that it might be incorporated with Italy, according to Cæfar's ancient plan, and that it might no longer be regarded as a Roman province. Octavius's fystem was not to part with Italy, but to establish his authority there upon a lasting footing. Thus it was not agreeable to his views that any other general should have a right to keep his legions on this fide the Alps. They had experienced in the war between Cæfar and Pompey, and afterwards in that between Decimus and Antony, of what importance the government of Cifalpine Gaul was, to keep Rome in

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EMILIUS II. and MUNATIUS, Confuls

A. R. 710. awe. Antony's share then only comprehended ant. C. 43. all Gaul on the other side the Alps, with that part of Africa which Cornificius possessed. But that which feemed to give the functionity to Antony, was the commission which he took to go and establish the triumviral power in the East. That is to say, to take possession of those vast and opulent countries, where there was no fear of refultance, after the defeat and death of Brutus and Cassius.

Phin. vii.

Octavius was very fensible how much he was hurt here, but necessity obliged him to make Plut. Ant. large allowances to a colleague who was, at that time, his superior. The victory of Philippi belonged properly to Antony. The whole army attributed the honour of it to him; and by the glory of that action he quite eclipsed Octavius, who had but very little share in it.

Octavius Italy, and takes upon bim the of the lands promis'd the veterans. The advanthis function.

It may be faid however of that artful politireturns into cian, that he only yielded to Antony the appearance, and retained to himself the real advantage. He returned into Italy, and charged diffribution himself with establishing in colonies the veter rans, to whom they were bound to pay the re-ward of their services. From this he drew a double advantage. In the first place, in case tageswhich of a rupture, he had Rome and Italy on his be found in side, and he could give authority to his cause by the names of the Senate and Roman people. which was a great advantage in a civil war. Besides, the soldiers were to receive their rewards immediately from his hands. He must then become the direct object of their gratitude and attachment, and it was only by reflexion that Antony could possibly enjoy any share in

The number of those whom he had to re-A. R. 7102 compence was very great. Antony, in a speech The imwhich he made to the deputies of the East, as mense num-Appian tellifies, make them amount to more ber of those than one hundred and seventy thousand. To whom he had to refuch a prodigious number of veterans, Octavius compence, was to assign houses and lands in Italy, over Appian. and above a gift of twenty thousand sesterces Dio. each. The money necessary for this diffribu- Plut. Ant. tion was not ready. Antony however took upon him to raise it by taxes, which he would lay on the provinces of the East. For this end he marthed into Asia with six legions, and ten thousand horse. After he had made some flay in Greece, Octavius brought the rest of the troops back to Italy

The separation of these two generals, obliges me likewife to divide the account I am to give of them. We shall therefore leave Antony for a while, and confine ourselves to Octavius, who had work enough on his hands from the commission he had undertaken.

The first thing which happened to him was The indifhis being taken very ill grand in this illness he position of had almost lost his life. He had not been well Osavius cured of the disease he was attacked with when at Brunduhe went from Macedonia; He had always been fum. in a languishing condition, and too much hurried with affairs, to have time to take care of his health; fo that he had nearly died at Brundufium. There was a report foread of his death, which occasioned a good deal of trouble at Rome. Several had conceived hopes, and formed projects of a change. Others, on the contrary, imagined that his difease was only a feint; and that the report was published on

purpose to found the sentiments of the citizens. N 4

and

Ant. C. 42.

A. R. 710. and to have an opportunity of repeating the violences and horrors of the proferiptions. So great a fermentation in the spirits of the people. made the presence of Octavius necessary in Rome. He therefore fet out as foon as he was able to bear the fatigue of the journey, fending before him letters, which he wrote to the Senate, to calm their fears, by the promifes of a mild and moderate conduct.

The origin of the Perusianwar. The vain character of L. Antomius.

It was hardly possible for him to make good a promife of this kind, confidering the odious operation which he had to go through, and the trouble he was going to occasion all over Italy, by driving from their houses and lands the lawful possessors, in order to establish soldiers Another great obstacle to his in their room. tranquillity was L. Antonius, the brother of Antony, and prefent Conful, a man less vicious perhaps than turbulent, and whose proper character feems to have been levity, want of confideration, and vanity. no digitions.

This last failing has been already taken notice of in this history, by those statues which he had caused to be made for him, and by the vain infcriptions, where the order of the Roman knights and the thirty-five tribes acknowledged him for their patron. A very extravagant and unheard-of title; as if the thirtyfive tribes, that is to fay the Roman people, the vanquishers and masters of the world, could have need of a patron, or bestow that

title upon one of their citizens. O dody adapta

Populi Romani igitur est bus, tantis rebus gestis fuit, qui se Populi Romani victoris dominique omnium gen-tium tutorem dicere auderet ? Cie. Phil. VI. 12.

patronus L. Antonius! Non modò hic latro, quem clientem habere nemo velit; fed quis unquam tantis opi-

In confequence of the fame vanity, he was A. R. 750. charmed with honouring himself, that very Ant. C. 42. fame year, with the cenforship and a triumph; but he was a cenfor without office, and had a triumph without merit. He was cenfor with Pigh. An-P. Sulpicius, and made out no roll which pro-nal. perly belonged to this office. As to his tri-Dio. umph, he demanded it in virtue of the pretended exploits against the mountaineers of the Alps. But what he did was extremely trifling, and he even had not the command in chief, which was always an effential condition of a triumph. Besides all this, he would never have obtained it, without the affiftance of Fulvia his fifter-inlaw. This bold woman, in absence of Antony her husband, and Octavius her fon-in-law. exercised in Rome the triumviral authority, which Lepidus did not know how to make use of. She granted her protection to L. Antonius, in order to obtain a triumph, on account of that respect, or rather obedience, by which he recommended himself to her in the administration of his Confulship. He triumphed the same day that he entered into office with P. Servilius Isauricus, that is to say the first of January.

L. Antonius.

P. SERVILIUS VATIA ISAURICUS II.

A. R. 712.

animal.

After the ceremony of the triumph, L. Antonius came to hold the Senate. In order to this he put off the ornaments of the triumpher, when he took occasion to compare himself very cruelly to Marius, who also had occasion to put off the triumphal robe, in order to preside in the Senate as Conful. Lucius observed a difference

A. R. 711. difference between him and Marius, wherein he had the advantage; which was, that Marius was obliged to be put in mind not to mix the military pomp of triumph, with the pacific office of president of the Senate; whereas, with respect to himself, his modelty was purely voluntary, and required no hint. Another thing still in which he gave himself the preference to the vanquisher of Jugurtha and the Cimbrii, was the great number of statues he law erected to his glory, whereas Marius had fcarcely one. We may eafily conceive by this what a vain man L. Antonius was, and what an easy matter it was for a haughty absolute woman, fuch as Fulvia, to govern a man of that character. Thus it was commonly faid that Fulvia triumphed, and enjoyed the confular power.

Octavius however was not of that stamp as to allow her to usurp such an authority over him. In confequence of which there foon happened a division between them, which increased to an open war. The occasion of it was the distribution of the lands promised to the fol-

diers, which she exclaimed against.

The opposite Teffors of allatted for avarice and info-Soldiers. Appian. Dio.

The execution of this was in itself as diffiinterests of cult as it was unjust. The proprietors, whom the foldiers they drove from their estates, complained bitterly. They came in flocks to Rome, with those lands their wives and children, crying aloud, and dewhichwere manding what crime they had committed, and them. The why, as they were born in Italy, members of the Empire and the Republick, they were treated as vanquished enemies. Complaints so just lence of the exasperated all the people, and those who were capable of viewing things in a political light, were fenfible besides that these lands, distributed differences

buted to the foldiers, confirmed the power to A. A. 711 their general; became fetters to enflave the flate for over, and destroyed all hope of ever feeing liberty again re-oftablished. Besides they had made a choice of the best towns of Italy; for this calamity was not common to all of them, but fell precifely upon the most beautiful, and those whom the best lands belonged to By this means the foldiers were better recompenced, and this the Triumviri had a partigular eye upon. But an odious enough diftinction, gave a new force to the murmurs and indignation of those who were the subjects of it. In faort, some of the most powerful Citizens and Senators found themselves included in the diffrace, on account of the fituation of the lands which they possessed. The credit of those augmented the weight of their complaints. It was not possible for Octavius to keep up to the rigour with them, and he was obliged to abate, at least in some meesure, so evident and tyrannical an injustice. One exception granted, necefferily introduced others. Sometimes he was obliged to yield to the force of recommendations, and poverty itself spoke for those who last all their subsistence in losing their little heritages a but you to state of as absented and

On the other hand, the avaricious foldiers looked upon every thing as taken from them, which was left to the proprietors. Not content with the flare which was allotted them, they violently took pedicition of the lands of their neighbours. Virgil was a famous exam. Virgil, ple of this. His little effate having been ex- Ecl. ix & empred from the common law, by the favour ibi Serv. which he found with Odiawins, the contunion Arius, who was fettled in his neighbourhood,

wanted

A.R. 11. wanted to enlarge his boundaries; upon which he quarrelled with him, and Virgil run a rifk of being killed by that brutal officer, if a speedy flight had not saved his life, and preserved to the Latin muses him who was to become

their principal glory: wants is still to the visit

botony

Octavius himself had a great deal to fear from the discontent of his soldiers. Their insolence was excessive, and proportioned to the need which they understood he had of them. He saw himself exposed more than once to the danger of becoming a victim to their sury, and his happy escape from it, especially in that commotion which I am going to give an account of, was owing to his dexterity in joining to a firm courage, that indulgence which the circumstances of the times required.

He had appointed them to affemble in the Campus Martius, where they were to receive his orders, with regard to the distribution of the lands which had been promifed them. They affembled very early, even before day-light; and as Octavius made them wait, they began to mutiny. A Centurion, called Nonius, had the boldness to represent to them, that they wanted respect for their general, and excused his flowness as an effect of his bad state of health, and not of any want of regard for them. Those who heard him, called him a flatterer, mixing railleries with their invectives. The quarrel increased; they soon came to threatenings, and Nonius feeing himfelf attacked by a number of furious people, found no other refource left than to throw himself into the Tiber, in order to swim over it. But the seditious foldiers followed him, pulled him out of show with letter in the neighborhood,

the water, killed him, and exposed his body A. R. 712. in the street where Octavius was to pass.

Upon hearing of this, the friends of Octavius advised him not to trust himself to such mad people, who were capable of carrying things to the greatest excess. But he was sensible that he must be ruined for ever, provided he drew back upon fo critical an occasion. He refolved then to face the danger, how great foever it was, avoiding in the mean while, to increase the evil by too haughty a conduct, which in fuch a conjuncture would have been very imprudent. Upon arriving at the Campus Martius, he faw the body of Nonius, and turned afide from it. Afterwards, being mounted upon his tribunal, he complained very modeftly of the murder of that officer. He imputed it to only a few of those who heard him, and exhorted them to use more moderation. with regard to one another, and mutually to spare the lives of each other. After this short speech, he executed what he had promised, as f nothing had happened to give him any uncasiness. He distributed the lands, assigning to each corps their lot and district. He even bestowed military gifts on those who deserved them, and upon some who deserved them not; and all this with a gentleness and dignity which not only calmed the mutineers, but filled them with admiration. Ashamed and confounded at their own infolence, and fensible that they deserved a different treatment, they wanted to give proofs of their repentance for what they had done, by offering to Octavius, to discover those who had killed Nonius, and bring them to him, in order that justice might be executed upon them. But he pushed his

She

indulgence

ANTONIUS and SERVILIUS H. Confok.

Ant. C. 41.

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A. R. 714. indulgence to the very last, telling them that he knew very well those who were culpable, but he thought they would be fufficiently punished by the reproaches of their own consciences, and the condemnation which their companions pronounced against them. This last artful expression gained their hearts effectually, and they all frove who should praise him shoft, and teftify to him their fatisfaction by repeated acclamations.

fered, to wit, that of Antony.

A third in- It may now be easily conceived into what terest inter- strange perplexity, and what a labyrinth of difficulties and dangers the opposite interests of the proprietors of lands, and an infinite number of military people, accostomed to give laws to their Chiefs instead of obeying them, must throw Octavius. To increase the trouble and confusion, a third interest interfer'd, viz. that of Antony. Lucius his brother, and Fulvia his wife, were very fentible that Octavius, by taking upon him entirely the diffribation of the rewards, must engross to himself all the merit of it. In order to remedy this inconveniency, they demanded Octavius to divide the charge of establishing the veterans in colonies, fo that he might regulate whatever concerned his own foldiers, and they those of Antony. Octavius alledged in opposition to this, the authority of the convention made with his colleague, whereby it was stipulated, that the direction of this whole affair friends be left entirely to him. This reason might prove the justness of Octavius's prerentions, but was not fufficient to appeale the fears of Lucius and Fulvia, and belides this last had a secret motive which rendered her implacable towards

She had been informed, that Antony, whole A.R. 912. inclination to debauchery the very well knew, The fecret entertained publickly in the East Glaphyra, the motive wife of Archilaus, grand Pontiff of Comanes, which ani-She wanted to avenge herself, by means of mated Ful-Octavius, on the infidelity of her husband, Octavius. without being shocked at the horror of the inceft; for he whom the folicited to impudently, was her fon-in-law. The young Triumvir rejected the advances of that impudent and imperious woman; and even fent her daughter back to her, affuring her that she was a virgin. This double affront, exasperated Fulvia beyond all measure, and she gave herself no rest till she had excited a war, by which she proposed, at the fame time, to fatisfy her refentment against Octavius, and to force Antony from his new amours, by obliging him to return to Italy.

Octavius had great reason to fear a war in The fruitthe circumstances he was in; for besides those less attempts difficulties which I have already mentioned, us to shun a the bare name of Antony, who was at that time war. His much extolled for the glory of his exploits, artfulness and the reputation he had of joining elemency and conand generolity with his bravery, was a great flancy. obstacle to Octavius's success. He therefore did not neglect to inform them, that he agreed in every respect with his colleague, and that Lucius and Fulvia acted without the orders, and even contrary to the intentions of Antony, But it was very natural to think that a party, at the head of which appeared the brother, and wife of Antony, must certainly be his, and this impression continued upon people's minds. Befides, a faction to much efteemed, had of intelf a very great force. I find in Italy, at the time we are now speaking of, fix or seven chiefs,

Ant. C. 41. and as many armies, which acknowledged Antony's authority. The chief of these, for the most part men of merit and skilful in war, were Ventidius, Pollio, Calenus, and Plancus. In short, that which added most to the troubles and dangers of Octavius, was the famine which arose in Italy, on the one hand, uncultivated and laid waste by the expulsion of the old proprietors; and on the other, deprived of the affistance which it used to receive from abroad, and harassed with incursions both by Sextus Pompeius and Domitius Ahenobarbus. The famine began already to be felt in Rome, and there to occasion popular insurrections.

Influenced by so many united motives, Octavius thought himself bound to try every expedient, in order to shun a war. He granted to Lucius and Fulvia that which they demanded, and consented that they should preside at the distribution of the rewards which belonged to Antony's soldiers. This was all that they could pretend to with any colour of reason. But Fulvia wanted to be revenged; in which she was very well seconded by Manius, who had the care of Antony's affairs in Italy during his absence, and was a very bold and intriguing man.

These two heads governed Lucius.

It was refolved in council to labour to unite the possession of lands and the soldiers against Octavius. Thus Lucius and Fulvia, instead of continuing as they had begun to give establishments to Antony's soldiers, received on one hand the complaints of those who were driven out of their possessions, thereby making a shew of protecting the oppressed; and on the other they published, that the consistent goods of the proscribed, and of those who had been declared

enemies

enemies to the publick, were sufficient to pay A. R. 711. off the rewards promised the soldiers; to which they added, as a supplement in case of need, the money which Antony was then raising in Asia.

There could be nothing more specious than those allegations. Octavius, far from having those immense fums to dispose of, found his finances run fo short, that he was obliged to break upon the treasures of the most revered temples of Italy, and even those of the Capitol; engaging himself however to restore them afterwards. And with regard to Antony, the most profuse of all mankind, it would be only deceiving themselves to expect money from Mean while those speeches of Lucius and Fulvia, authorized by the name of Antony, were greedily swallowed by the possessors of lands, who found themselves thereby agreeably flattered; and the foldiers themselves, provided they were to lose nothing by it, preferred that kind of reward which was less odious and tyrannical.

I do not know if ever there was a fituation more delicate and critical, than that which Octavius was in that time. It were greatly to be wished, that we were acquainted with the motives of his policy upon that occasion, explained by some able hand. But such writers as Appian and Dio give us only bare accounts, frequently ill ranged, loaded with useless details, wanting necessary materials, and always void of life and spirit. The idea which I have formed of the conduct of Octavius from the idea given of him by these authors, is as follows.

Firm in his principles, and steady in his views, he very well understood that his power, which

A. R. 711 which was founded upon arms, could only be supported by them. Thus he placed all his hopes on his army, and though he felt the justness of the complaints of those whom they had spoiled of their inheritances, he did not at all hearken to them, and contented himfelf with granting some gentle mitigations. As to the reft, he followed fleadily his plan, of putting the foldiers in poffession of those lands which had been promised to them. This fustem was the only one which was truly advantageous to the troops, and confequently the only one capable of attaching to him inviolably his own foldiers, and bringing back to him fooner or later those of Antony, whom they made to act contrary to their proper interest.

His business then was to point out to them the illusion with which they were abused. In order to this, there was nothing more proper than to propose an explication with his adversaries, to enter into a negotiation with them, and to take the foldiers themselves as arbiters. This Octavius did; and what made it still more easy for him was, that Lucius's vanity had made him attack the Triumvirate, and undertake to re-establish the consular government. But he was neither difinterested enough, nor had he parts or judgment sufficient to execute fuch a project. But he did himfelf bonour by it; advanced that his brother consensed to it; and that fince Octavius and Lepidus were obstinate in opposing the good of the Republick, they ought to fuffer the punishment of those crimes which they had committed in the exercise of their office. .swollot sa si sandisus eledand mid-

of these notions of Lucius could have taken place, none would have suffered so much by it.

ANTONIUS and SERVILIUS II. Confuls.

as the veterans, whose whole fortunes and A. R. 711. establishments had no other basis and support than the triumviral power. Octavius put the finishing stroke to gain them over to his interest, by submitting his dispute with Lucius to their arbitration. A number of veterans, with the deputies of some of the Legions, afsembled in the Capitol; and from thence they fignified to Lucius, that he must make his complaints to them, and agree to their decision, unless he chose to have them for his enemies. The same was signified to Octavius, who readily submitted to it.

Lucius, at that time, possessed Preneste, having left Rome, where he faw his advertary had the chief power. He affembled troops. always attended by Fulvia, and governed by the influences of that audacious woman. the order which was intimated to them from the army, displeased them very much, yet they durst not refuse to obey; and Lucius promised to go to Gabii, a place situated almost at an equal distance between Rome and Preneste, and made choice of on this account, for a trial

so extraordinary in all its circumstances. Octavius rendered himself first at the rendezvous, and immediately detach'd fome of his people to reconneitre the country, in order to fee that there was no amough laid for him. It is very likely that his intention was what actually happened; for his fcouts meeting those which went before Lucius, quarrelled with them, engaged them, and killed fome of them. Lucius, frightened at this event, turned back immediately, and it was not possible to persuade him to prefent himself before the new military tribunal, tho' the principal officers offered to

ANTONIUS and SERVILIUS II. Confuls. 196

A. R. 711. Ant. C. 41.

guard and escort him. This obstinate refusal turn'd the minds of the veterans against him; and as they remembered besides, that Lucius and Fulvia spoke of them with contempt, calling them the Spaterdash * Senate, they declared themselves loudly for Octavius, and took up arms in his favour.

The difference between the forces of Octavius's

guard

Octavius saw himself then very well supported, having on his fide, besides his own proper troops, all that multitude of veterans, which was still more formidable by their vaparty, and lour and experience, than by their numbers. Lucius on his side appeared to oppose him with confiderable forces, but he had only a precarious authority over the greatest part of them, excepting fix legions, which were perfonally attached to him, because most part of the foldiers who composed them had been raised among the people of Italy, whose cause he defended. As to the rest, he was served but very superficially by the lieutenants and armies of his brother in Italy. They could not eafily perfuade themselves that Antony would approve of a war against his colleague. Besides the equality between the different chiefs of these armies, rendered them rivals to each other, and divided them. On the other hand all the forces of Octavius, as well those which he commanded in person, as those under the orders of Agrippa and Salvidienus, united by a common attachment to one supreme chief, concurred in the operations of the war, with a harmony extremely advantageous to gain fuccefs. at this event. This

^{*} Senatum ealigatum. The word Caliga fignifies the hofe of the common foldiers. audienal, the the principal obiters offered to

Thus he commenced this war with a fupe-A.R. 711. riority, which was not counterbalanced by any 1he beginuncertainty. Only Lucius took the advantage ning of the at first of his absence, to re-enter Rome. Octa-war. vius was gone to Umbria, with a defign to feize a body of troops, commanded by Furnius, one of Antony's lieutenants, and had charged Lepidus to guard the city with two legions. Lucius, whose projects against the Triumviri, had gained him the affections of the most illuftrious Senators, and who besides, had to do with fuch a contemptible adversary as Lepidus, presented himself before the city. He defeated the Triumviri, who went out to meet him, entered Rome, called immediately an affembly of the people, whom he harangued in the military robes, contrary to the constant custom practised before him; and a few days after he returned back, carrying with him the reward of his expedition, the acclamations of the people, and the decree of the Senate: feeble arms against an enemy so powerful and alert as Octavius. He, upon receiving the news that Lucius was master of Rome, made all the hafte he possibly could to relieve it, but on his arrival there, he found that he was gone. He took measures to hinder this capital from being furprized for the future, and from thence went to Perusia, where Lucius was already besieged by Salvidienus. The manner in which things were carried to such a length by them was as follows.

Salvidienus, at the head of a good army, Lucius is came from Cifalpine Gaul to join Octavius besieged in his general, and was pursued by Ventidius and Perusia by Pollio, Antony's lieutenants. Lucius under-Odaviui. took to go before Salvidienus, to enclose him

A. R. 711 between two armies. But Agrippa, who knew his defign, marched immediately after with a delign to enclose Lucius between him and Salvidienus. Lucius understood the danger he was in, and changing his scheme, he wanted at first to re-unite himself to his brother lieutenants. But finding the difficulty and risk in that, he took a resolution, dictated very probably by timidity and inexperience, to retire under the walls of Perulia, a very strong town, there to wait in security for Ventidius and Pollio. They, who, as I have said, entered into Lucius's projects with reluctance, made no great hafte to fuccour him. On the contrary Octavius's Lieutenants, active and ardent to serve their chief, followed Lucius very close, and began to furround him with lines and trenches. Octavius himself made haste to come up to them, for he would not allow his enemy to escape, who was imprudently thut up in a place which he could not get out of. He refolved to finish the war at one blow, by taking Perusia and Lucius together. He affembled all the forces he had for this decisive enterprize, and ordered all the troops which were under his command, in the different parts of Italy, to come up

The fiege was long and troublesome. The besieged desended themselves vigorously, and the succours which they called to their assistance, gave a good deal of disquiet to the besiegers. Lucius made them press all his brother's lieutenants to come and relieve him, and Fulvia joined to the sollicitations of Lucius, all the activity of her hatred against Octavius. She was at Preneste with a number of Senators and Roman knights, and some

המפליוליפכת -

bodies

bodies of troops affembled about her person A. R. 414 There the governed with an absolute authority, Dio. prefiding in council, at one time, and ar and other, hartinguing the foldiers with a fword died in the firects, and they throw this in beil

She fpared nothing in order to fave Lucius, Appian. for which end the made Ventidius, Pollio, and Planeus exert themselves, and if the could have communicated to them her vivacity and spirit; they would possibly have given Octavius a great deat of trouble. He was obliged to leave the flege, and to march with Agrippa, in order to hinder the junction of the three chiefs and their armies, in which he fucceeded and At his approach Plancus retired to Spoletum, Ventidius co Ravenna, and Pollio to Rimini. Octaving fent troops against each of them, to keep them in awe, while he returned himfelf to prefs the fiege of Perofia, as brifkly as If we be see Appian's account of this affine

Lucius made a great many fallies, but all without faccels. Antony's three lieutenants, whom I have just now mentioned, found means of re-joining their forces; but being flopt by Agrippa and Salvidienus, who marchcd in order to meet them, they durit not attempt to affift Lucius. Mean while the courage of the belieged supported them under all their defeats, and they would certainly have made a very long reliftance; if famine had not rens dered their valour ofeless. As they had by no A famine means expected a flege in Perufia, they had in Perufia. confequently made no provisions against it. By this means a very great scarcity presently arose, in which they took all those precautions, even contrary to humanity, which are used in the like circumstances. They not only mea-

fured

defirerism.

A. R. 711 fured out to each person his quantity of provi-Ant. C. 41. fions, but refused giving any to the flaves, hindering them at the same time from going out of the town. Thus these miserable wretches died in the streets, and they threw their bodies into wells and deep ditches, left they should infect the air with their corruption, or, in case they burnt them, left the great number of fires should inform the beliegers of the vast multitude of those who perished, and the great misery which they suffered in the place. In thort, they were obliged to yield to necessity. which has no law; and Lucius having fent fome of his principal officers to capitulate with the Lucius goes vanquisher, and they not bringing back a fatisfactory answer, he resolved to go and find

bimself to find Octavius, in order to furwhich might move him to clemency. render at discretion.

banut

If we believe Appian's account of this affair, Lucius spoke and acted like a hero. But I find no other writer describe him so much to advantage, and fome of them give him a very bad character. Cicero, in his Philippics, treats him with the greatest contempt. Velleius affures * us, that he had all the vices of his brother, but did not refemble him in any of his virtues. I therefore continue to have the fame opinion of him which I have hitherto expressed, and tho' it is difficult to deny facts so circumstantial as those related by Appian, we may be allowed at least to believe, that the vanity of Lucius, and the confidence which he had, that

Octavius himself, to endeavour to engage his

honour by a frank and generous furrender,

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for elife medical states of comments while the

Vitiorum fratris sui con- terdum in illo erant, expers. fors, fed virtutum, que in- Vell. II. 74. 11100 1910

Offeren.

STREETS STREET

Octavius, constituted all his heroism on this Ant. C. 41.

He went out of the Town, and advanced towards the camp of the beliegers, without taking any other precaution, than fending word to Octavius that he was coming to wait upon him. Octavius went to meet him as foon as possible, and there was a struggle betwixt them who should behave with the greatest complaisance. Lucius proposed to enter within the trenches, so that he might put himself intirely in the power of his vanquisher. But Octavius would not allow him, and made haste to go out of his lines, in order that he who demanded peace, might appear to do it freely, and without constraint.

The speech Appian puts into the mouth of Lucius on this occasion, expresses a noble greatness of soul. By it, that unfortunate Chief appeared to be in no pain to justify himself, and was only troubled for those who had attached themselves to him. He reckoned it a great honour to have attempted to abolish the Triumvirate, and to re-establish the Republican government, in prejudice even of his own brother, if he had not found it altogether as equitable to drop that scheme for the good of his country. He gave a full discharge to all those who had followed him, telling them that he had deceived them; in that he had represented things to them in a false light, concluding with offering to deliver himself to the revenge of Octavius, provided his innocent followers might be spared. to Flotherm Applien and The first above in the francisco

ANTONIUS and SERVILIUS II. Confile. 202

Octavius, theless orders bloody executions.

A. R. 711. Octavius affected generofity in his turn Ant. C. 41. "You difarm me, fays he to Lucius, by the pressions of " nobleness and frankness of your manner of " acting. If you had pretended to capitulate who never - " with me, I should then have been at liberty to use the right of a conqueror. But by " fubmitting your fortune, together with thole of your friends and foldiers to my diferetion, you oblige me to confider what is

"worthy of mylelf, and not what you de-" ferve; and your cause cannot prosper bet-5 ter, than by being affiftant in promoting my

power of his varquifier. But Octavity role ?

These were fine words: But I do not fee that in reality the clemency of Octavius went beyond the bounds which policy dictated. He treated Lucius honourably; because he was too much afraid of Antony to use his brother ill. He inflicted no punishment upon the foldiers, neither the veterans nor others; because his own troops would have taken it amiss But as for the people of quality, the Roman senators or knights, whose attachment to the liberty of the ancient government he feared might continue, he gave them no quarter. If any of them went to ask pardon of him, or to excuse themselves, he answered them barbarously, you must die. The acknowledgment which he owed to the fervices that * Canutius had formerly done him against Antony, when he was tribune of the people could not fave the life of that ancient fervant and friend, who to be fure was Clem.I.11 too zealous a republican. In thort, they even Suet. Dio. relate, that our of the number of those who

Suet. Aug. 15.

* I follow Appian and Dio. first victims of the Triumvirate's proscription.

According to Velleius II. 64. Canutius bad been one of the

fell under his power upon this occasion, he chose A.R. 711. three hundred of the most distinguished to be Ant. C.41. facrificed as victims the day of the ides of March, at the foot of an alter erected in honour of Cæfar. It is true, he pretended that he was forced to perform these acts of vengeance, by the clamours of his foldiers. But it was he himself who excited them under hand. and no body was imposed upon by this apparent artifice, Octavius alone remaining charged with the odium of so horrid a butchery. To such inhuman lengths a man of this character if her is capable of carrying things a artful and deceitful, regarding nothing but himfelf, infenfible to friendship, favour and pity. He shewed himself here bloody without passion, ashe became afterwards beneficent without humanity.

With regard to the city of Perufia, Octavins The city of followed still the same maxim of destroying Perusia is the heads, and sparing the multitude. The reduced to Senators of this unfortunate city were all put unforeseen to death excepting one call the second and th to death, excepting one only, who had been accident. one of the judges of Brutus and Cassius at Rome, and diffinguished himself by his zeal in condemning them. Ochwins's scheme in granting their lives to the rest of the citizens. was to deliver the town to be plunder'd, as a recompence for the foldiers. But an accident, Vell. II. which he could not foresee, determined the af- 74. fair otherwise. Cestius, one of the principal Appian. inhabitants of Perusia, a man of an unfound head, refolved, out of a foolish despair, to fet fire to his house, and throw himself into the flames, after having first stabbed himself. As the wind happened to be high, the fire communicated itself to the neighbouring houses, and spreading itself gradually, consumed the Octavius whole town.

ANTONIUS and SERVILIUS II. Confuls. 204

75. Suet. Tib.

me is they

A. R. 711. Octavius forelaw that the taking of Lucius Ant. C. 41. would put an end to the war. After this departy is ab- cifive blow, all Antony's lieutenants thought folutely de- of nothing but flying as fast as they could out firmed in of Italy. Some of them passed into Greece flight of Ti. and the East, to join themselves with their ge-Nero, the neral, whilst others sought a nearer retreat in busband of Sicily, under the protection of Sextus Pom-Livia, and peius. Amongst the last, the singularity of the father of polius. Althought the last, the lingularity of the the emper. adventure renders Tiberius Nero, hufband to or Tiberius. Livia, and father of the emperor Tiberius, the Vell. II. most remarkable. He was constantly attached to the Republican party after the death of Cæfar, and had ferved Lucius zealously, as the only and last resource of liberty. During the fiege of Perusia, he was in Campania, appointed to keep the country in subjection to Lucius. After the victory of Octavius, he strove still to make some refistance himself, and in order to augment his forces, he went fo far as to offer liberty to the flaves who should follow him. Surprised at the diligence of Octavius, who marched towards him, he took the refolution of faving himself in Sicily. This was not to be done without some difficulty. He carried with him his wife, and his fon Tiberius. who was not then full two years of age, and flill at the breaft. Being obliged to conceal his march, in order to escape those who were searching for him, he was twice afraid of being difcovered by the cries of the child, which one day was to be fuccessor to him whose vengeance was at that time fo terrible to his whole family.

Thus all Italy acknowledged the authority of Octavius. However, there still remained on the fide of the Alps, an army confifting of feveral legions, under the command of Cale-

Appian.

ANTONIUS and SERVILIUS II. Confuls.

nus, who dying at that juncture, Octavius A. R. 711. very eafily brought over to him those legions Ant. C. 416 which had loft their commander. Fufius, a fon of him who was lately dead, gave them himself up to Octavius.

It may eafily be judged what confusion and The Right rage Fulvia must be in, when she saw all her and death projects disappointed, all her efforts rendered of Fulvia. useless, and him whom she hated escape victorious and triumphant from all the fnares which Plut. Ant. the had laid for him. She went into Greece to conceal her shame and malice, and wrote very melancholy letters to Antony, who was then at Alexandria, already enchanted, as we shall presently see, with the seducing charms of Cleopatra. He came to her, and having learned that the principal cause of the war of Perusia was the jealousy and intriguing spirit of Fulvia, he used her very roughly, and departing for Italy, he left her ill at Cicyon, where she died with grief very soon after.

Her death, which was occasioned by a spiteful rage, corresponds perfectly well with the conduct of her whole life; and what we have related of her, discovers what a just picture Plutarch has drawn of her, when he fays, that * she was not a woman made to confine herfelf to her distaff, and to manage a family. It was not fufficient for her even to govern a husband who was of the common rank; she must have one, who commanded others, to obey

lecond

Φυλδία της 'Arloris γυναικο-Reatias ofiner, waru XIIgondin zi wemaidaywinuisos da

[·] Ov ταλασίαν, εδ' διχε-פוֹמי שְפָסיצי שְשׁימוסי, שׁלֹ מוֹלפסק ιδιώτυ κρατειν αξιών, αλλ' γανο εραθηγειι, η εραθη- άρχης ακροάσθαι γυναικών ώστε Κλεοπάτεαι διδασκάλια Ant.

A. R. 711. her, and the general of an army to acknowledge her for his chief. Thus Cleopatra was very much obliged to Fulvia, of whom Antony had learned to be governed by a woman. She received him from the hands of a highspirited wife, quite formed to the yoke, and day wat accustomed to bear it of a long time. Fulvia had for her first husband Clodius, who was killed by Milo; after him Curio, who perished in Africa; and her third husband was Antony, old Jasw

into Greece

Julia, the Julia, Antony's mother, a lady of a very mother of different character from Fulvia, and still more Antony, es respectable on account of her virtue, and her capes to Sieily, where rank and high birth, thought it was not proper Sextus Pom- to stay in Italy after her fon's party was depeius obliges stroyed; and the fad certainly nothing to ber to pass fear from Octavius, she chose rather to trust herself to Sextus Pompeius, and pass into Sictly. Sextus received her very honourably, and gave her an escort of feveral vessels to conduct her into Greece.

Lucius is fent into Spain with the title of Proconful.

Octavius kept Lucius with him for fome time under a good guard, which passed however as a retinue, that attended him out of respect. But he presently found himself embarraffed with fuch a prifoner in Italy, and therefore he fent him into Spain with the title of Proconful, but without any real authority. All the power was lodged in the hands of his lieutenants Sex, Peduceus and Carrinas, who were to be answerable to Octavius for his perfor and conduct. After this time history makes no more mention of Lucius Antonius.

The taking of Perusia, and the consequences of it above-mentioned, come under the year when Domitius Calvinus was Conful for the

fecond

ANTONIUS and SERVILIUS IL Confuls.

fecond time, together with Pollio. But be A.R. 710 fore we finish the account of the events of this Ant. C. 41. year, we must return to the preceding, and follow Antony in his journies in Greece and the East, after the battle of Philippi. boman soun

Elis conduct in Greece gained him entirely Antony's the affections of all people. He was pleafed mild and to hear himself called a lover of the Grecians, popular conand especially of the Athenians. He decided Greece. debates, and ruled affairs with equity and gen Plut. Ant. tlenefs. His amusements had also something of popularity in them; and the Grecians were charmed to fee him affift at their shews, hear the lectures of their men of letters and philoforhers, and initiate himself in their mysteries.

Afia, whither he went the first favourable The lumiseason, made him quite another person, or ra-ries of Asia ther awaked in him all the vices to which he plunge him was inclined. The riches and pleasures of this chery. delightful country, a numerous court of kings, who worthipped him fervilely, and of queens, who strove who should please him the most; in a word, all the allurements of pleasure and grandour united together, intoxicated his reafon, and plunged him again into those debauches, which buliness and dangers had for some time suspended. He abandoned himself more than ever to the pleasures of feating, and to companions ill becoming a person of so high a rank. He was constantly forrounded with moficians, dancers, players, and all forts of men whose business is is to energate and corrupt the manners. Afta flumified him with perfons of that stamp, still more able, and better versid in this pernicious art, than those who had followed him from haly. They engross d his whole affection, and governed his court. Avai

ricious

ANTONIUS and SERVILIUS II. Confuls 208

A. R. 711 ricious as well as profligate, they took advantage of his prodigality to confume immense fums, which were raifed from the people by

the most rigorous methods. A player on the Strabo. 1. flute, named Anaxenor, was charged with the gathering the tribute of four cities, having foldiers under him to execute his orders and a cook having succeeded in pleasing Antony's tafte at a feast, received as a reward the house and goods of a rich citizen of Maghis amufements had also form. silan

Rejoicing ing in another, in

XIV.

Plut.

Hence it happened that Asia, at the same in one part, time rung with the noise and preparations of and mourn- the most magnificent and extravagant feasts in one part, and groans and lamentations in the other. When he made his entry into Ephelus the women dress'd themselves like Bacchanals. and the men and children like Satyrs and Fawns, and in this odd dress they gamboll'd before him. The town was fill'd with festoons of ivy and thirles, and with concerts, vocal and instrumental, singing the praises of Antony, whom they called a new Bacchus, beneficent and gracious. He shewed himself really fuch with regard to some of them, but the greatest part found him rough, cruel, and severe. He took away the estates from people of distinction, to bestow them upon his meanest servants and flatterers. They asked and obtained of him the spoil of persons alive, which they passed upon him for dead. In short, he demanded of the people of Asia double the tribute which Brutus and Caffius had imposed upon them. alda soom ilifi ...

> Upon this last article Hybreas, one of the most famous Orators of that time, made representations to him in the name of all Afia, of

> > which

which Plutarch has preserved to us an in- A. R. 711. genious specimen, and in the taste of that bril- Ant. C. 41. liant and popular eloquence, which was extremely pleafing to Antony. " If you will " take from us, fays he, two tributes in one " year, you must give us two springs and " two autumns in the same period of time." Upon another occasion, the same orator spoke to him very boldly, and cut him to the quick. After two hundred thousand talents furnished Thirty by Afia, Antony demanded still new contri-Seven milbutions. Hibreas had the courage to say to bundred him on this subject; " If you have not re- and ninete " ceived that which we have given, make eight thouthose who have the management of your fand four finances give an account of it; but if you bundred pounds flerhave received it, and already confumed it, ling.

" we are infallibly ruin'd."

This expression of Hybreas made a strong The simpliimpression upon Antony, who was ignorant, city and for the most part, of things that passed, less gentleness out of negligence, as Plutarch imagines, than of Antony's character, out of a fimplicity of character, which made the cause him trust too much to those who were about of both him. For he was mild and of an open be-good and haviour, and if he was not quick in observing evil effeas. those grievances, and acts of injustice, which were authorized by his name, at least when he was informed of them, he regretted them fincerely, and own'd them frankly, even to the fufferers themselves. Recompencing very liberally, and punishing with rigour, he exceeded the bounds of moderation more in the distribution of favours, than in the inflicting of punishments. We must not be surprized then, that many of those who had carried arms against him, having taken courage to implore VOL. XV.

A. R. 711. his clemency during his flay in Asia, received Ant. C. 41. the good effects of it; and, among others, the brother of Cassius. If there were any to whom he would not grant a pardon, it was in cases very particular and extremely unfavourable; especially he thought himself obliged, not to spare any of those who had had a hand in the confpiracy against Cæsar. On the contrary, those towns or nations, whose attachment to the memory of that great man, and those who avenged his death, had brought upon them rigorous usage from Brutus and Caffius, received acknowledgments from Antony, and were loaded with his favours. mong this number were the Rhodians, the Lycians, the towns of Xanthus, Tarfus, and Jos. Ant. Laodicea in Syria; and in short, the state of the Jews, which Herod and Phasael, sons of 23. & 23. Antipater of Idumea, governed at that time, under the name of Hircania. Herod found an avow'd protector in Antony, by whom he was supported against all his enemies; in confequence of which he engaged himself heartly

as we shall see afterwards, even to the last extremity.

Plut.

Antony's good nature and easiness of temper, were carried in private conversation to an indecent familiarity. He loved to joak with those whom he admitted to his parties of pleasure, and allowed them the same liberties which he took himself; being no less pleased to see himself the object of laughter, than to laugh at the expence of others; upon which Plutarch makes an observation, which appears to me very judicious, and at the same time

in his interest, and continued faithful to him.

very ingenious. He alledges that that licence A. R. 741. of railery, which Antony allowed to those Ant. C. At. who were about him, hurt his affairs very much; for not imagining that those who used fuch freedoms with him in their pleafantries, would flatter him when they spoke seriously, he easily became a dupe to their praises. He was ignorant, that able courtiers know how to mix freedom with flattery, as an agreeable feafoning, which prevents fatiety; and that by the boldness of their prating when they are merry in company, they fo order it, that their approbation and pliantness does not seem at all to be the effect of complaifance, but of that conviction and fubmission which they cany not refuse to Superior geniuses. and bad and

Such a man was Antony, and in this man- The origin ner he laid the foundation of his ruin. I This of his pafe was render'd inevitable by his passion for Cleo-sonfer Cleopartra, which roused and brought to light patra. a great many vices which were before concealedy and, if I may use the expression, lay -alleep as it were at the botom of his foul; and banished every thing good that remained in him. The manner in which he fell into the fnare of that Egyptian inchantrefs, was as follows.

have already observed, that Serapion had Plin. Apfurnished fome succours to Cassius from the pian. bifland of Cyprus. It feems there were some

Τέτο διελυμήναίο σολλά των σεμγρατών, τὰς γάς is σμιον, τῆ παςά την κύλικα τῶ σαίζειν σας έησιαζομένες θεασύ η ι λαλιά διαμηχα-εν αν διηθείς σημοδάζομας κο- νωμενοι την έπε των σεραγμά-> Nazivin aulos, intiduelo gadi- var i per in afralation, un τος υπό των τπάκιων άγνοων πρός χάρω διειλυθών, άλλά στι την παρέρησιαν τινές ως υ- τῷ Φροιδιν ήτωμένων, Φαίνεσότυφοι ήδυσμα τη πολαπέια

wagaunyviles, aprieur so man-

A. R. 711 reasons for rendering the Queen of Egypt re-Ast. C. 41 fponfible for the conduct of the governor of an island, which depended upon that crown. It was doubtless on this account that Antony, when he was preparing to march against the Parthians, who had made an irruption into Syria, fent orders to Cleopatra to come to him, to clear herself of a reproach of having favoured his enemies. Her cause was very good, for it is very probable that Serapion did not act by her orders, nor even acknowledge her authority. And, with regard to herself, she had given proofs of her attachment to Cæfar's party, by the fuccours fhe had fent to Dolabella, as I have already mentioned, and by a fleet put to fea to affift the Triumviri in the war against Brutus and Cassius. But she did not stand in need of any apology.

Plut.

Dellius, who was charged to bring her into Cilicia, no fooner faw her than he was convinced, that fo tempting a woman had nothing to fear from Antony, and that, on the contrary, by her beauty, gracefulness, and especially by her address and engaging behaviour, she must certainly obtain a very great influence over him. Thus instead of assuming any authority over her, he studied to make his court to her, and advised her not in the least to fear Antony, who was the most good-natured and humane of all mankind.

Cleopatra, encouraged by what Dellius had told her, and still more by the experience which she had had of the power of her *

charm:

Appian says, that Antony Cleopatra, when he went inwas already in love with to Egypt with Gabinius in order

charms over the eldest son of Pompey, and A. R. 711. likewise over Cæsar, promised the more chear-Ant. C. 41. fully to fubmit to Antony. For at the time of these first intrigues she was very young, and quite unexperienced in affairs; whereas she was now in the twenty-seventh year of her age, and consequently in the stage of life when the charms of the body, and the talents of the mind, are the most brilliant. She prepared then rich presents for Antony and his friends; and took with her large fums of money, and the most precious jewels. In a word, she supplied herself with whatever the wealth of a great and powerful kingdom could furnish her; but placing her chief hopes on herfelf, and the bewitching charms which she had but too great a share of, she set out with an entire confidence; and tho' she received upon the road a great many couriers, and repeated orders to make hafte, she did not in the least hurry herfelf on their account, and feem'd to have fo little regard to the Roman general, that, accused as she was, she made the most magnificent and gallant entry that can possibly be imagined into Tarsus, where Antony was at that time.

The city of Tarsus was divided by the The magriver Cydnus; which, two or three leagues and galbelow, discharged itself into the sea. It was lant entry by this river that Cleopatra chused to enter. of that She was seated in a barge, the stern of which princes inwas cover'd with gold, the sails of purple, where And large and floating in the wind, and the oars of tony was,

order to re-establish Ptolemy was at that time only thirteen Auletus. But this is hardly years old, an age very improprobable, because Gleopatra per for raising that passion.

filver

214 Antonius and Servilius II. Confuls.

A.R. 711. filver, which kept time to the found of flutes and guitars, She herfelf lay reclin'd on a heaven, spangled with stars of gold, with such ornaments as the poets and painters give to Venus. On each fide were young children, fuch as they paint the loves, who fan'd her with handerchiefs. The most beautiful of her women, dress'd like Nereids and Graces, were placed, some at the helm, and others about the cordage. And upon the banks of the river they burnt the most exquisite perfumes. Such a magnificent appearance drew. a prodigious croud together. Some from the mouth of the river accompanied the barge, others flocked out of the town to meet them, so that the place where Antony gave audience was deferted, and he left alone feated upon his Tribunal. They thought of nothing, but going to fee Venus, as they faid, who was come to visit the new Bacchus, and render all Asia happy

The mutual entertainments beeween Cleopatra and Antony.

When Cleopatra was arrived, Antony fent to invite her to supper. She answer'd, that the rather wished to have the honour of receiving him as her guest; and the general, not being willing to begin with a refufal, and valuing himself upon being polite and obliging, promised to wait upon her. The entertainment was magnificent, and the apartment decorated in the most elegant manner. But what struck Antony most, was the number and fine disposition of the lights, which were almost without number, but very orderly difposed, forming designs, and representations of different figures. Here disposed in square, and there in circles, fo that they had a charming effect, effect, and afforded a delightful entertainment A. R. 711.

to the eye.

According to an antient writer, quoted by Athen. Atheneus, Cleopatra added large gifts to that IV. 14. elegance, and pomp. She repeated her entertainment, several times, and always in a new tafte, and with new ornaments, giving Antony each time all the equipage of the feaft, that is to fay, all the vessels of gold adorned with precious ftones, with which the fideboards were ornamented, and the tapestry, and cloths of purple embroider'd with gold, which, ferved to decorate the apartment. To his friends, a great number of which he took with him, fince there were twelve tables. furrounded with three couches each, and therefore must amount to one hundred and eight persons at least; I say, to all that great number of guelts, the made very rich prefents. Upon them the bestowed the couches on which they had supped, and the vessels of gold in which they had been ferved. When they retired, she made presents to the most distinguish'd amongst them, of litters, with people to carry them; to others, she presented horses, very richly harness'd; and to all of them, young Ethiopian flaves, to carry torches. before them. The author above mention'd likewife relates, that at the third entertainment, which Cleopatra gave to Antony, she made them strew with roses all the floor of the hall a cubit thick.

Antony treated her in his turn, and at-Plut, tempted to surpass her in magnificence and taste, but not being able to succeed, and falling far short of hers in every respect, he was the first that turned into raillery, the rustic

P 4

fimplicity

were more seducing of her beauty.

The charms The artful Egyptian immediately enter'd inof Cleopa- to the humour of him, whom the wanted to tra's mind gain, and having observ'd that Antony's pleafantries were not very delicate, but in the than those military strain, she entertained him in his own way; and with a free, easy air, full of affurance, diverted him in fuch a manner, as to fhew herfelf no more delicate than he.

> It was by this dexterity, and the charms of her wit, that she was fure to please, for her beauty was by no means extraordinary, or capable of making conquests. But nothing could be more engaging, or enchanting, than the charms of her conversation, which carried with them always an almost inevitable feducement. The very tone of her voice had a delightful fweetness; and Plutarch compares her tongue to an instrument of many strings, with melodies diversified a thousand different ways. For whereas her predecessors, rendered quite stupid with indolence and pleasure, could not even fpeak the Egyptian language, and some of them had forgot their own Macedonian dialect: Cleopatra gaye audience to all the neighbouring nations, without the help of an interpreter. Hebrews, Arabians, Syrians, Medes, Parthians, Ethiopians and Troglodytes, had all the fatisfaction to hear her fpeak their own language, as free and eafy as they could do themselves.

She fubdues Antony.

Antony was not made to relift fuch powerful charms; he did not fo much as attempt to arm himself against them. On the contrary, he yielded himself up to them with all his soul. From the judge, he became the conquest and

flave

flave of Cleoparta, and that artful princess, A. R. 7211 who knew how to excite love, without fuffer-Ant. C. 4x. ing herfelf from that passion, began to make use of that fway she had gained over Antony, by caufing him to confirm to her the free and peaceable poffession of the kingdom of Egypt. on the House and all all

Very foon after the death of Cæsar, she She maker had taken care, as I said before, to get rid use of her of her brother, who enjoyed the throne with power over her. But Arfinoe, her fifter, was still alive, confirm to and tho' she was obliged to shut herself up in berself the the temple of * Diana at Ephefus, and to owe possession of her fafety entirely to that fanctuary, yet she Egypt.

Josep.XV.

Still gave her umbrage. Cleopatra therefore 4. & Apobtain'd an order from Antony to take Arfinoe pian. by force out of the temple, and to put her to death. Even the priest of Diana, who paid honours and respect to that unfortunate princess, run a great risk of his life, if the Ephesians, by their most humble supplications had not appeafed the wrath of the queen of Egypt. The facred rights of an unviolable fanctuary were no more regarded with respect to Serapion, than they had been with regard to Arfinoe, whose interests I am afraid he had espoused. He was taken out of the temple of Hercules, at Tyre, and deliver'd to Cleopatra, who found by his death her vengeance fatisfied, and at the fame time, a justification towards Antony, for the fuccours fent to Cassius. In short, she oblig'd the inhabitants of a small island of Syria, named Aradus, to deliver up to her a young man, who pretended to be the eldest brother of

Appian calls it the temple of Diana Leucofrini, at Miletum. The difference it not material.

ANTONIUS and SERVILIUS II. Confula

A. R. 711. Cleopatra, formerly vanquish'd by Cæfar, and Ant. C. 41. happily escaped from the battle, according to the story which he told; the the common re-

port made him pass for dead.

Antony pre-Sently fol-Plut. & Appian.

Cleopatra having thus obtain'd of Antony all to Alexan- that she defired, set out to return to Egypt, dria, and leaving in the heart of the Roman general a fting, which would foon make him follow her. lows ber. In short, instead of marching according to his first design, against the Parthians who af fembled their forces in Mesopotamia, he contented himself with marching thro' Syria, and deciding hastily those affairs which were referred to him; and after having tried without fuccess, to insult and plunder the town of Palmyra, he fent his forces into winter quarters, appointed Decidius Saxa to command them in his absence, and presently slew to where his heart called him, I mean to Alexandria.

The childish amulements and extravagant expences of Antony

There amusing himself, idly, like a thoughtless boy, who minds nothing else but pleasure, he loft and fquandred away in trifling amufements, the most precious of all enjoyments, which is time. He formed a fociety of pretended Members of the inimitable Life, which was the title they took, and the rule was to entertain one another with profusions which surpass all belief. I shall insert one instance, which will help us to form an idea of it.

Lamprias, Plutarch's grandfather, was told by the phylician Phylotas, who was young at that time, and happen'd to be at Alexandria to learn his profession, that having made an acquaintance with one of the chief persons in Antony's kitchen; he was invited by him to

come -

come and fee the preparations for one of these A. R. 711. suppers. He went then into the kitchens, and Ant. C. 41. was surprised to find, besides a very great quantity of other meat, eight wild boars upon the spit. He thence concluded that the company must be very numerous. " Not at all, s faid his friend, laughing at his furprise, there will not be above twelve at table. But " every thing must be roasted to a turn, for " a moment more or less is capable of spoil-" ing it. Now it may happen that Antony may call for supper immediately, or in a. " short time, or perhaps he may defer it a " good while, being amused with wine or " fome agreeable subject of conversation. On "this account we must not make ready one " supper alone, but several, because it is im-"possible for us to guess the moment he

" will fup."

Philotas told him another flory of a different nature, but which equally proves the prodigality of Antony. He faid, that being; engaged in making his court to the eldeft of Antony's fons by Fulvia, he was fometimes: admitted to his table with other Greeks; as the young gentleman did not eat with his father, being only a child. At one of these repalts, among the rest of the guests, there happened to be a physician, who fatigued the whole company with his learned nonfense. Philotas filenced him by a fophism, which he desir'd him to resolve. "There is, says he, a certain fever in which it is proper to give " cold water to the patient. Every fever is " a certain fever; therefore in every fever "you ought to give cold water to the patient." The prating doctor must have forgot :

A. R. 711 forgot his fylogistic rules, not to discover, at Ant. C. 41 first sight, the fallacy of this syllogism. However it was, he had nothing to answer, but remained quite confounded. This little adventure was extremely pleafing to young Antony, who laughed very heartily at it, and wanting to recompence him, whom he was fo well pleased with; Philotas, said he, I will give you all that you fee before you, shewing him a fide-board cover'd with vessels of gold. Philotas teftified his gratitude, and returned him a great many thanks, but was far from thinking that a child of that age, would be allowed to make a present of such importance. Mean while, upon taking his leave, an officer brought him all the plate inclosed in a bag. and asked him to put his feal upon the mouth of the bag, that nothing might be taken out of it. Philotas started back surprised, and refused to take a present of so great a value. "You are very simple, Sir, replied the officer; " you do not know then, that Antony's fon can make more confiderable presents than " that you are surprised at. However, if I " may offer you my advice, you will take " money instead of the plate, because there is " fome of them antique, and very curiously " wrought, which Antony may possibly call " for again." It is plain enough that fo extraordinary a profusion committed to his son, who was but a chid, must be owing to the father. But we must not allow ourselves to be deceived by a false appearance of bounty and generofity: this is not to give, but to fquander away.

During Antony's first stay at Alexandria, Cleopatra had the address to captivate him entirely.

She made use of every method that could A. R. 711. be thought of to flatter him. Whether he was Ant. C. 41engaged in amusements, or serious affairs, she always contrived some new pleasure to divert him, never leaving him night nor day. For the constantly kept him company at games, at table, and in his parties of hunting. If he was employed in any military exercise, she affisted at it, at least as a spectator. She followed him even in the town, when he went difguifed during the night, in order to divert himself by standing at the doors and windows, talking facetiously to the people who were within. For Antony had a taste for these kinds of low diversions, which people of distinction are fometimes foolishly fond of, being weary of ordinary and natural pleasures, which pall, by being so frequently repeated. Dressed like a flave, with Cleopatra disguised after the same manner, he fpent whole nights in running about the streets of Alexandria, teasing every body that he could find to talk to, striving to put them out of humour by scurrilous jests, and was always repaid with repartees, and frequently with blows. He imposed upon every body with it at first, but afterwards when they knew that he diverted himself in this manner, the Alexandrians entered very willingly into the humour of it. They contrived and acted merry scenes on purpose, which likewise diverted themselves, and said, that Antony acted the Tragedian with the Romans, and the Comedian with them.

To give a detail of all the amusements of Antony with Cleopatra, would be unworthy of history. However the following adventure deserves.

ANTONIUS and SERVILIUS II. Confuls. 222

A. R. 711 deserves, I think, to be mention'd, as having

a good deal of spirit in it.

Once as he was diverting himself with angling in the Nile, but with very bad fuccefs, it was mortifying to him to be disappointed in presence of the queen. He gave orders there-fore for some divers to plunge into the water; and fasten a fill, which had been catched before, to his hook. This truck could not be repeated again without Cleopatra's perceiving it. However the feign'd to be very much furprized, and engaged a new party for angling the next day, informing them of the trick which he had made use of. They went thither in great numbers, on board of barges, attentive to what was to happen. Antony who had no fulpicion of being discovered, having thrown his line, the divers, by Cleopatra's order, fastened a salt fish to it. He selt the motion, and, thinking he had hold of his prey, pulled the line out of the water. You may ealily judge what mirth this falt fifth of Ancony's occasion'd. Cleopatra however made him a very artful compliment upon it. "Sire," faid fhe, yield that diversion to us fovereigns " of Pharos and Canope. As for you, your fish, and your game, are towns, whole nations, and empires."

To give a detail of all the attoleactive Anonly with Colpute, would be inverthy of billiory. He see at the following securers

Hapados ipis rds nahapos, autongalop, rois Dagirais nj Capalitang Carillion i He on Supa, when her wal, Caraling Jainen. Plut. Antas barrette aliwalli daliw

the Amount of voice Health inflance of this genera-

one consists be nown that enginelless of Seules

the active of Menas. Antony The necessity of Antony's affairs calls bim into Italy. He is courted by Sextus Pompeius. The power of Sentus. The marriage of Octavius with Scribonia, the fifter of Libo, father-inlaw of Sextus. Domitius Abenobarbus joins bis fleet to that of Antony. Antony is refused entrance into Brundusium. He besieges the town. Dispositions for a peace. The negotiation of Cocceius Nerva. A treaty concluded between Octavius and Antony, by Macenas, Pollio, and Cocceius, Antony's marriage with Officia. A small triumph decreed to the two generals. Salvidienus is condemned for his treachery to Ostavius, and kills bimfelf. Canidius and Balbus substituted in the Consulship, in the room of Pollio and Domitius. The fortune of Balbus. The triumph of Pollio. His great learning? The triumph of Calvinus. His feverity, with regard to discipline. Herod desi clared king of Judea. The Falcidian law. The death of Dejotarus. His commendable qualities. His cruelty to bis family. Changes in the Confulfhip. No more annual Confuls. Confusion and diforder in all the States. Rome and Italy familied by Sextus. An infurrection of the people against the Triumviri. A furious tumult, where Ostavius runs a risk of his life, and is delivered by Antony. A feast given by Octavius; a new subject of complaint. Octavius consents to a negotiation with Sextus. Sextus yields to it, contrary to bis inclinations, A. conference between the three generals. Conditions of the treaty. The extreme joy which this peace occasion'd. The three chiefsentertain one il .qh

one another by turns. An expression of Sextus to Antony. A remarkable instance of his generofity, in rejecting the advice of Menas. Antony is out of bumour at lofing at all kinds of games against Octavius. He leaves Italy and arrives at Athens. His popular behaviour with the Athenians. They treat bim as a new Bacchus, The dowry be demands of them for his marriage with Minerva.

there were the second

A. R. 712. Ant. C. 40. CN. DOMITIUS CALVINUS II. C. Asinius Pollio.

fity of Antony's affairs calls bim into Italy.

The neces- WHILE Antony was entirely engaged in those childidalis of an into a kind of lethargy with regard to affairs, he was rous'd from his indolence and negligence, by two very difagreeable pieces of news. He was informed on the one hand, of the troubles of Italy, and the Perusian war; and on the other, of the entry of Labienus into Syria, at the head of an army of Parthians. This irruption of Labienus, of which I shall give an account elfewhere, appear'd to him the most pressing. He advanced as far as Tyre, with a defign of repelling the Parthians; but letters which he had received from Fulvia, half blotted out with her tears, called him towards the West. He arrived in Greece, and being informed of what had passed in Italy, he was in a great passion with Fulvia, as I have already related, and at the fame time extremely troubled at the increase of Octavius's power.

He is court-In those circumstances he was pleased to find ed by Sex-himself courted by Sextus Pompeius. He had formerly been obliged to him for having given peius. refuge Ap. Dio.

refuge to his mother Julia; and his interest A. R. 711. being joined to this motive of honour, he gave a very kind reception to Libo, who, under pretence of bringing back his mother, came to propose to him a treaty of friendship and alliance with Sextus his son-in-law. Antony, however, conducted himself very prudently, and thought that he ought not to break with Octavius abruptly; but he promised to Libo, that if he should be obliged to make war against Octavius, he would accept Sextus's proposal; and that if, on the contrary, their differences should be amicably determined, he would certainly take care to reconcile him with his colleague.

Sextus at this time had a great deal of fway. The power

Placed between the two Chiefs of the victo- of Sextus. rious party, it was a kind of triumph for him to make himself be considered by Antony, and feared by Octavius. His power had increased confiderably, during the time that the war against Brutus and Cassius, employed all the forces of the avengers of Cæsar's death. He made himself entire master of Sicily, of which he possessed only a part at first; and had put to death Bithynicus, governor of that island, whom he accused of having plotted against his Statius Murcus, after the battle of Philippi, had brought to him, as I faid before, a powerful reinforcement. He had also subdued Sardinia; fo that with a very numerous and warlike fleet, he was mafter of the whole sea between Italy and Africa. This fituation was exceeding favourable, and he became extremely proud upon it, even so much as to style himfelf, the fon of Neptune, as renewing the naval glory of his father, and possessing the heredi-VOL. XV.

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tary empire of the feas. In the mean time he

A. R. 711. Ant. C. 40.

owed his rife, in a great measure, to fortunate incidents, and he had, by no means, all the qualities which were necessary in order to reap a folid and lafting advantage from it. Velleius describes him to us as brave, active, and eager, of a quick imagination, faithful to his engagements, as much as his father had been deficient in that point, but of a rough behaviour, which appeared even in his speech; allowing himself to be governed by his fervants, and, to make use of the historian's expression, the freedman of his freedmen, and the flave of his flaves. He envied those who were above him, and obeyed those below him. In short, those in whom he confided the most, and whom he put at the head of his fquadrons and fleets, were men who had been made free, the most famous of Hor. Epod whom was * Menas, whom Horace has immortalized by the emphatical description which he has given of his pride and infolence, an eternal object of indignation and contempt. Statius Murcus, a man of courage, and of a high spirit, could not submit to so shameful a yoke, nor bend to a favourite fo lately a flave. This cost him his life. For they ac-

· Hic adolescens erat fludiis rudis, fermone barbarus, impetu strenuus, manu promptus, cogitatione celer, fide patri diffimillimus, libertorum fuorum libertus, fervorumque fervus, speciofis invidens ut pareret humillimis. Vell. II. 73.

* I have followed the common and ancient interpretation of that ode of Horace, which I

have quoted, tho' an able commentator, bas lately attempted to render it doubtful. Some difficulties which he finds in applying to Menas, certain circumstances of this little satirical ode, do not appear to me sufficient to prevail over the authority of manuscripts and ancient scholiasts, who point out the freedman of Sextus to be the person bers meant.

cufed him of treachery, and under that pre- A.R. 711.

tence he was put to death.

Such a man was Sextus Pompeius, whose union with Antony, if it had been confirmed, might have become fatal to Octavius. By joining their feaforces, they would have amounted to five hundred fail, and thus it would have been easy for them to have invested Italy, if I may be allowed to use the expression, and to flarve it; and Octavius, powerful in legions, having forty in his fervice, but quite destitute of vessels, must have seen himself reduced to the greatest extremity, and obliged to submit to them.

He tried to gain Sextus, and in order to The marripave the way for a reconciliation with him, he age of Occontrived to make an alliance with his father-scribonia, in-law. Mæcenas was charged on the part of the fifter of the young Triumvir, to demand for him in Libo, famarriage Scribonia the fifter of Libo, who be-ther-ining charmed at the thoughts of joining to the law of Sexquality of father-in-law to Sextus, that of brother-in-law to Octavius, very willingly confented to it. The marriage was agreed upon, and Octavius espoused Scribonia, tho' she was a great deal older than he, and had been already married to two men of confular dignity, by one of whom the had children. Mean time the peace could not be concluded, and Octavius feeing himfelf obliged to make head against Antony and Sextus both at once, began by ridding himself of Lepidus, whom he suspected, and made him be fatisfied to depart to his government of Africa with fix legions, which having formerly belonged to Antony, preferved ftill an attachment for their ancient general. It was also at this time that he fent Lucius, the brother

ANTONIUS and SERVILIUS II. Confuls.

A.R. 711. brother of Antony, into Spain, under pretence Ant. C. 40. of making him Proconful of that great province.

Domitius Abenobarbus joins bis fleet to

In the mean time Antony, having departed from the island of Corcyra, at the head of two hundred fail, advanced towards Brundusium. that of An. He met in his passage Domitius Ahenobarbus, who came to join him with all his fleet, which was very confiderable. Domitius had preferved under his command a great part of the naval forces formerly affembled by Brutus and Cassius; and his first plan was, as I have before mentioned, to keep himself independent of any party. But very foon finding that scheme to be impracticable, he consented to the proposal which Pollio had made to him, of attaching himself to Antony, and acknowledging him as chief. The agreement was made, but the question was whether it would be kept. When the time of putting it in execution approached, feveral of Antony's friends apprehended, that, bold as Domitius was, and befides remembering not only his being profcribed, but condemned under the title of one of Cæfar's murderers; either from the motive of pride or fear, he would hardly think it proper to put himself in the power of one of the Tri-Plancus especially, who valued himumviri. felf upon his prudence, at the fight of the least danger, press'd Antony not to trust him. but to stop his course, till he was fully affured of the dispositions of Domitius.

But Antony, tho' he had no more than five vessels with him, with which he advanced before the rest of the fleet, rejected this timorous council, declaring that he chose rather to perish by the perfidy of another, than to fave his life

miliond

at the expence of being branded with timidity. A. R. 711. Prefently the two admirals gallies approached each other, and Antony's lictor, standing on the prow, ordered Domitius's men to strike their flag, which was immediately obeyed. Domitius then came to the fide of Antony's galley, and went on board. In the mean time the troops faluted the Triumvir as general, and Plancus recovered his fright. Afterwards Antony, with this new reinforcement, went to prefent himself before Brundusium.

Octavius kept in this town a garison of five Antony is Cohorts, the commanding officer of which re-refused enfused to admit Antony, under pretence that he Brundusbrought with him Domitius, who had always um. He bebeen an enemy to Cæsar and his party. An-sieges the tony, offended at this, besieged Brundusium, town. and invited Sextus to make a descent upon Italy; which was executed. Octavius, on his part, affembled his troops to relieve the befieged town, and prepared to force the lines of

Antony.

It was thought at that time, that a storm Dispositions was just at hand, which would renew all the for a peace. mischiefs which were hardly quieted. Hostilities were really commenced, but very inconfiderable. Among the three Chiefs who entered into this war, the weakest of them only, that is to fay, Sextus, had a hearty inclination to it. The two Triumviri were afraid of themfelves; and their foldiers, whose power was exorbitant in these troublesome times, and who gave laws even to their generals, were no ways disposed to fight against one another. They looked upon themselves as united by the same cause, and constituting only one body. Befides this general motive, the troops of Octa-

vius

ANTONIUS and SERVILIUS II. Confuls.

230 A. R. 711. Ant. C. 40.

vius had a particular one, from the fear and respect which they bore to Antony, as the author of the victory at Philippi; and those of Antony, on their fide, were not pleased with their Chiefs uniting his interest with exiles, and proscribed persons. While these things were in agitation, Fulvia, whom her hufband had left ill at Cicyon, happening to die, this event open-ed a way for a pacification. The negotiation was first begun by Cocceius Nerva, a common friend of both the Triumviri; and Appian gives us, upon this subject, an account, which appears to me to be taken from some ancient record, and for this reason deserves to be prefented to the reader, at least an abridgment of it.

tiation of Cocceius Nerva.

The nego- Cocceius had been fent the year before to Antony in Phenicia, about some affairs which we are ignorant of, and had remained with him until the time I am now speaking of. When feigning to be recalled by Octavius, he de-manded leave of Antony, who granted it. " Will not you give me a letter to Cæsar, says " Cocceius, as I brought one to you?" "No, replied Antony hastily, I never write to my enemies." Cocceius represented to him, that he ought not to reckon Cæsar his enemy, after the clemency which he shewed at Perusia to his brother Lucius, and the rest of his friends. " How, replied Antony, shall not I call him " mine enemy who has refused me entry into "Brundusium, and who has taken from me " my provinces and my troops? With regard to my friends, if he has used them well, " he did not do it to preserve them for me, but to render them mine enemies by his fa-" vours." Cocceius did not think it proper to infift any further on the subject, for fear of A.R. 711. Ant. C. 40. irritating that impetuous temper in Antony, which he proposed to calm; and contenting himself with having drawn out of him the cause of his complaints, he returned to Octavius.

He pleaded before him the cause of Antony, as he had pleaded before Antony the cause of Octavius. He exposed to the young Triumvir the grievances of his colleague, and justified the alliance which Antony had made with Domitius and Sextus Pompeius, alledging that they were both innocent of the murder of Cafar, and that they were more unfortunate than culpable, even according to the principles of the victorious party. Observing that these reafons made but little impression, he fortified them by the fear of danger, declaring to him frankly the resolution which Antony had taken to make use of the maritime forces of Sextus, joined to those of his own, in order to lay waste and famish Italy. This last consideration struck Octavius; and Cocceius, who observed it, spoke to him then upon the death of Fulvia. "That woman, fays he, has been a torch " of discord between you, but she is now dead. "What hinders you then to make advances " to each other, provided you rather chuse to

Octavius after this becoming very calm, Cocceius proposed to carry a letter for him to Antony, and represented to him, that as he was the youngest, he thought he might very well write first to a colleague, who had so great a superiority to him in age. The point of honour would not allow Octavius to do this; but

" clear up your reciprocal complaints, than

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ANTONIUS and SERVILIUS II. Confuls. 232

A. R. 711. he contrived an expedient, which was to write Ant, C. 40. a polite letter to Julia, the mother of Antony, complaining, that being his relation, she should have taken the resolution of flying out of Italy, as if she might not expect from him the same

tenderness and regard as from her son.

Cocceius, with this letter, returned to Antony, and advised him, in order to take away every obstacle to a peace, to begin by removing Domitius from his person, and sending Sextus back into Sicily. Antony, at first, was very loth to give his confent, especially to that part which regarded Sextus. Because he thought that thereby he would be too much engaged to Octavius, and, confequently, give him too much the advantage. But at last, fearing the valour of Octavius's legions, who, tho' full of efteem for Antony, were nevertheless determined to make smart war against him, in case he obstinately rejected a peace, he yielded to the instances of Cocceius and his mother; and having fent Domitius to Bythinia, of which he made him governor, he gave Sextus to understand, that he had no more need of his fervices in Italy, promising him in the mean time to take care of his interests.

Atreatyconcluded between Octavius and Antony, by Mæcenas, Cocceius.

After these preliminaries, Cæsar's soldiers being fatisfied with him, formed a deputation among themselves, which they addressed in common to the two generals, fignifying to them, that the inclination of the army was for Pollio, and them to make peace. As to the terms of it the foldiers did not take upon them to discuss them; but they gave full power to a committee composed of three commissaries, Mæcenas engaging for Octavius, Pollio for Antony, and Cocceius as a common friend or mediator.

Thele

These three negotiators concluded the treaty A. R. 711. under the authority of the army, which acted Ant. C. 40.

as the depository of the sovereignty.

The articles of the treaty were very simple; forgetting what was past, friendship and a good correspondence for the future; and a new division of the Roman Empire, the eastern part of which was put under the power of Antony, and the western under that of Octavius. The Scutari on town of Scodra in Illyria, was the common the Drino. bounds of these two great divisions. Africa was left to Lepidus, who was always forced to be contented with whatever his colleagues pleased to allot him. Octavius took upon him the war against Sextus Pompeius, in case they could not come to an accommodation with him, and Antony that against the Parthians. It was likewise expressly stipulated, that the two generals should have an equal power of raising troops in Italy. But Octavius preserved to himself always the advantage of never giving up the Capitol, and feat of the Empire. Domitius was acquitted of the condemnation pronounced against him, and the good usage he had received from Antony, was approved of by Octavius. With regard to the Confulship, which was no more than a shadow, but a shadow of fome dignity, and capable of taking life again in the hands of persons who knew how to reanimate it, they agreed, that whenever the Plut. Ant. Triumviri did not exercise that office themfelves, they should share it amongst their friends. In short, the seal of this reconciliation, was Antony's marriage with Octavia, fister to young Cæsar.

Octavia, who was elder than her brother, Antony's marriage was tenderly beloved of him, tho' she was with Osta-only via.

A. R. 711 only his fifter by the father's fide, by a former Aut. C. 40 marriage. She had been a fhort time a widow, having loft . Marcellus her hufband. Antony passed also for a widower after the death of Fulvia; for as to Cleopatra, tho' he did not deny his intrigues with her, yet he did not use her on the footing of a wife. All the friends he had, who were fenfible and judicious, wished extremely that he would marry Octavia, whose merit was equal to her other charms. They hoped that this lady, who joined to an exquifite beauty, a fedateness of manners, sweetness of conversation, and a great deal of wit, could not fail of being beloved by Antony, when he was her husband, and thereby cure him of his foolish passion for the queen of Egypt, the consequences of which made them tremble. Thus all their wishes uniting in an alliance so agreeable in every respect, the affair was prefently concluded, and the marriage immediately celebrated, without even waiting till the time of * Octavia's mourning was expired. And as this circumstance must have occasioned a stain upon her, according to the Roman customs, the Senate, by an express decree. dispensed with the rigour of the law in this case.

Such was the treaty of Brundusium, which A fmall delivered Italy from the fear of a bloody war. triumph decreed to the The joy of it was fo great, that in order to true gene- testify it to the two generals, they thought they could not do less than decree them a small triumph, more at order absorb your gravel

. Only wie.

rals.

But before they made their folemn entry into Rome, Antony being still at Brundusium.

Dion adds, that The was lence on this subject gives me with child, but Plutarch's fi- reason to suspect it. wind Oda.

or near it, faw himself exposed to great dan- A. R. 711. ger from Cæfar's old foldiers, who had fol-Ant. C. 40. lowed Octavius. They remembered that he promised to send money from the East, to be distributed amongst them; and he might easily have done it, if his luxury and prodigality had not prevented it. The veterans flocked about him, and called upon him to perform his promife. As he was not in a condition to fatisfy them, they burst out into reproaches, became very warm, and Antony would certainly have been in very great danger, if Octavius had not engaged in his behalf. In order to avoid any thing of this kind for the future, the veterans were all fent home to their colonies.

The reconciliations of great men are too Salvidiefrequently fatal to their friends. This was ex- nus is conperienced on the above occasion, by two of demned for those who had the chief confidence of Octa-chery to vius and Antony. Manius was delivered up Odavias, by Octavius to his colleague as the principal and kills author of the Perusian war, in consequence of bimself. which Antony put him to death; and, at the fame time, by way of compensation, he discovered to Octavius the fecret practices of Salvidienus, who at that time commanded an army in Gaul. This man, who was of an obscure birth, had push'd himself, by his talents and ambition, to become one of the principal lieutenants of Octavius, who had even advanced him to the dignity of Conful, without having the order of a simple knight, a distinction almost quite singular, and which never had been granted, at least in latter times, to any but Pompey. Mean while this high fortune did not fatisfy the infatiable ambition of that officer; who, betraying his commander, had offered

A. R. 711. offered his service to Antony during the siege Ant. C. 40. of Brundusium. Octavius being informed of this perfidy by Antony himself, ordered Salvidienus to Rome under fome certain pretence, and when he had him there in his power, he caused him to be tried by the Senate, who condemned him to death as an enemy to the publick. Salvidienus executed the sentence himfelf, and prevented the punishment by a voluntary death. orgen offi ino find

> There was a great affair still remaining to be executed by the two Triumviri, which was either to destroy Sextus Pompeius, who harassed. Italy very much, or elfe to come to an agreement with him. But this would lead me to the following year, and I ought to mention here some facts, which, tho' they are of no great importance, yet ought not be neglected.

Canidius

The change introduced into the government, and Balbus discovered itself more and more, by the Confubflituted fuls having but a very small share in publick in the Con- affairs. Pollio and Domitius Calvinus, who the room of enjoy'd this title, which was formerly fo great, Pollio and appeared only as having a fecond hand at most Domitius. in all the events of this year. They were even obliged by the Triumviri, after having enjoy'd this vain piece of honour for some time, to yield their place to others, whom the Triumviri wanted to please with the same piece of honour. Their successors were L. Cornelius Balbus, and P. Canidius Craffus, the one a friend of Octavius, and the other of Antony. We shall see afterwards Canidius at the head of Antony's forces; and with regard to Balbus, he had been many years attached to the house of the Cæfars. His fortune had fomething fingular enough. borotto

He

He was a Spaniard, born at Cadiz, and A. R. 712. having done great service when he was very The foryoung, to Metellus Pius, and Pompey, in tune of the war against Sextorius, he was made a Balbus Roman citizen by Pompey; a privilege which Cic. pro was disputed him in justice, but he maintain'd Balbo. the possession of it by the credit of him who had procured it to him, and by the affiftance of Cicero's eloquence. His ambition no doubt determined him to attach himself to Cæsar, as a patron, who was capable of advancing. him higher than Pompey could do, and by this conduct he did not at all incur the reproach of ingratitude; for Cæsar and Pompey were at that time friends. After the rup- Vell. II. ture between them, he remained with the 57. ftrongest party, and by his constant fidelity to Plin. VII. Cæfar, and his zeal to serve Octavius, he be- 43. came fo much confider'd, that though he was a stranger by birth, and adopted a citizen, not without a dispute, he arrived at the Confulship, and was the first example of a sovereign magistrate of Rome born out of Italy. He Dio. acquired likewise immense riches; so that when . Ten Bilhe died he bequeath'd to the Roman people lings and no less than twenty-five * Denarii a head. five pence.

Pollio, at the expiration of the Confulship, The Triwas fent by Antony to make war against the umph of Parthians, people of Illyria, who had shewn Pollio. His a strong attachment to Brutus. He took the great town of Salonea, and did other exploits which entitled him to a triumph. But that which fecured him an honourable rank among illustrious persons, was that variety of talents which were united in him, in an eminent degree. He excelled in all kinds of eloquence, poetry, and history; and he patronized in Horace Ode II. 1. others,

Was

ANTONIUS and SERVILIUS II. Confuls. 238

A. R. 713. others, that tafte for those arts, which he cultivated in himself with success. A proof of this was Virgil, whom he maintain'd in poffestion of his paternal estate, and introduced to Octavius's friendship. Pollio had great views, and had the honour of being the first who founded a publick library for the use of Plin, VII. men of letters. He adorn'd it with statues of the most learned men of antiquity; Varro 30. & XXXV.2. was the only living one to whom he did that

honour.

The Triumph of Calvinus. His fewerity with regard to difcipline. Vell. II. 78.

His colleague, Domitius Calvinus, makes a more shiring figure in history by his employments and titles, than by his real merit. After his Confulship he went to make war against the Cerritani in Spain, where he acquired the honour of a triumph. His exploits have nothing very remarkable; but he deserves praise with regard to military discipline. A body of troops having allowed themselves to be defeated by the enemy, and shamefully taken flight, Calvinus punished those who were guilty, by decimating a great many companies, without sparing the officers. Centurions, and among the reft the first captain of a legion, named Vibulius, fuffered the Baltinado, which was an ignominious punishment, and frequently mortal.

Herod deof Judea. Joseph. Antiq. & de B.

Under the Confulthip of Pollio and Calviclar'd king nus, Herod was declared, by the Romans, king of Judea. It is furprizing that this title, which had been extinct for fo many years, and XIV. 20. refused formerly by Pompey to Hyrcan, fprung from a race of kings, should be re-Jud. I. 11. newed in favour of a man, who not only did not belong to the royal line, but was even a stranger, and an Idemean by origin. Herod

was

was obliged for this to the war of the Partitians. A. R. 712. Those people were actually almost entire masters of Judea. Hyrcan was their prisoner. and they had fet up as king, Antigonus, chief of the branch, in enmity with Hyrcan. In this fituation of affairs, Antony thought it would be of service to him, to oppose to the king established by the Parthians, one who was in friendship with the Romans. Herod then who had come to Rome, to represent the melancholy condition of Judea, and to implore a foredy affiftance, obtain'd more than he demanded. As he knew that the Romans did not usually grant the name of king, but to those who are of the royal progeny, he intended to ask that title for his brother-in-law, brother to the unfortunate Mariamne, grandfon of Ariftobulus, by his father, and of Hyrcan by his mother; while in the mean time, he intended to referve all the power and functions of royalty to himlest. Antony however thought it more proper to join the title to the office. Herod was agreeable to him. and to all Cæfar's party, both on account of the services he did them himfelf, as well as of those of Antipater his father. He was therefore declared king by a decree of the Senate, and the Triumviri added to it tokens of honours of all kinds, an account of which may be feen in the historian Josephus.

A law very famous in the Roman legs The Fakiflature, was passed this year by the Tribune P. dian law. Falcidius. It tended to reftrain the unbound- Dio. ed liberty of making wills, which the citizens Justin. Instit. enjoyed, and very frequently abufed. It was 1. int. 22. no rare case, for example, for the Testator to drain the estate by the number and greatness

ANTONIUS and SERVILIUS II. Confuls.

A. R. 712 of the legacies, so that there remained hardly any thing for the natural heirs. They had, for a great while, felt the inconveniency of this last abuse, and had endeavoured to remedy it. but without success. Falcidius therefore caused a law to be made, ordering that the fourth part of the goods of the Testator, should abfolutely belong to the heirs, and if the fum of the legacies exceeded three quarters of the estate, it should be lawful for them to take from the legatees as much as would make up the quarter due to them. This privileged quarter has been called the Falcidium, from the Tribune Falcidius. and more vilgula son

The death of Dejo. commendable qua-Dio.

The old king Dejotarus, whom I have had occasion frequently to mention, died at last in tarus. His a very advanced age. He had managed his affairs very well, with regard to his political lities. His conduct, and his proceedings with the Romans who were his protectors, or rather his masters. bis family. Being in friendship with Cicero, Cato, and Brutus, in the civil war between Cæsar and Pompey, he attached himself to the best party. Necessity however obliged him to yield to the conqueror; but after the death of Cæfar, he shewed to the world that neither disgraces, nor even torpid old age, had been able to lessen his courage and boldness. But he forcibly recovered all that had been taken from him by the resentment of the Dictator. Besides, he gave affiftance to Brutus, the last affertor of the Roman liberty. I am forry that Dejotarus, who had fo many commendable qualities, should have tarnished the glory of them by his domestick cruelties. Strabo, and particularly

XII. Plut. Plutarch, accuses him of having been the exde Stoic, ecutioner of his whole family. He treated it Repub. as

as a vine-dreffer treats a vine, cutting off all A.R. 712 the branches but one, in order to make that flourish. Thus Dejotarus put all his children to death, to raise the fortune of him whom he chose to make his heir. But authors have not inform'd us, whether this project, which he pushed by such barbarous means, succeeded or not. His fucceffor, in the tetrarchy, is one te man riode at -ibs

called Caftor by Dio.

The Confuls were chose for the following year, according to the plan agreed on by the two Triumviri; that is to fay, out of a number of the friends of each of them. Those who began the year were Marcius Cenforinus, and Calvifius Sabinus, one of whom had been left by Antony to command in Greece during his absence, while he pass'd into Asia; and we shall see the other at the head of the naval forces of Octavius, against the generals of Sextus Pompeius. A mei file nombre de ful es

L. MARCIUS CENSORINUS. C. CALVISIUS SABINUS. A. R. 719.

The authority of the Consulship was very Changes in much weakened, and reduced almost to no-the Conful-thing. But at least hitherto they had kept up to more anthe form with regard to the duration of it so far, nual Conas that there had been none created Confuls, who fuls. were not named to continue to the end of the year; though feveral of them were obliged, both by the Dictator Cæfar, and by the Triumviri, to refign before that time was expired, in order to leave this honourable title for others, whom they wanted to invest with it. Marcius Dio. Censorinus, and Calvisius Sabinus were the first Consuls, who, entring upon the office the Xor. XY.

A. R. 7'3 first of January, were only to continue a cer-Ant. C. 39 tain number of months, at the end of which they were to be relieved by fuccessors, appointed at the fame time with them. This practice, which villfied and degraded more and more the Confulthip, was followed constantly by the emperors. After this there were no more anmual Confuls. Those who began the year, gave · Ordiit their names, and were called the * Ordinary; narii. + Suffecti. the others whom they called + Substituted,

were hardly known but in Rome and Italy. In the provinces they were but little heard of, and for Minores. this reason they were called & the little Confuls.

Confusion The great number of those, whom the Triand difor- umviri had to recompence, was one of the der in all causes which influenced them to multiply the the States. Confulfhip. The fame motive also engaged them to introduce, or allow to come into the Senate, all kinds of unworthy members, even as far as common foldiers and flaves. One Vibius Maximus, appointed Queftor, was known by his master, who claimed him, and sent him back into flavery. There was also found amongst the legionary soldiers a slave, who had been thrown down from the Tarpeian rock, after he had been first made free, in order to give more diffinction and folemnity to his punishment. In a word, confusion and licenclousness reigned in all ranks, and those who ftill preferv'd any fentiments of decency and Rome and publick honour, or any tafte for the ancient lialy famissed by channers, faw nothing on all hands but afflict-

Sextus. An ing objects. insurredion But the thoughts of the people were of the people taken up with a difaster, which affected against the them more nearly; and this was a famine, Triumviri. which the squadrons of Sextus Pompeius, Appian. stationed

a state of

ftationed along the coast, occasion'd in Rome A.R. 713, and Italy. As he was master of the islands of Sicily, Sardinia, and Corsica, he interrupted the commerce, both of the East and West, and his corsairs kept constantly at sea to intercept their convoys, which might come from Africa.

Hunger is a very great incentive. The people grew tumultuous, and called aloud upon the Triumviri to make peace with Sextus. But Octavius remaining inflexible, Antony concluded that they must put themselves in a condition to make war immediately, before the famine should come to an extremity. It was not possible to undertake the war without having recourse to new impositions. They gave out orders to tax the mafters at the rate of twelve Denarii and a half, for the head of each flave which they possessed, and to retain a certain quota upon the fuccessions and legacies for the publick expence. Then the people loft all patience; and the placards of the money edicts were pull'd down. They thought it ftrange that the Triumviri, after having drained the publick treasury, spoiled provinces, harass'd Italy with profcriptions, confiscations, and all manner of extortions, should still rob the citizens of that little which was left them and that not for a war which interested the State, or tended to the good of the empire, but for their particular quarrels, for their ambition, and destroying a family which was an enemy to their grandeur.

The publick indignation against the Triumviri, turned into affection for Sextus; and the common people testified their sentiments at the games of the Circus, where it was the custom

R 2

A. R. 713 to carry in pomp the statue of Neptune. They

A furious tumult, in

a rife of

by Antony.

received it with extraordinary applause in honour of Sextus, who called himfelf the fon of that God. Octavius observed this inclination in them, and in order to prevent the like scene afterwards, during the time of the feasts, he forbid them to bring thither the statue of Neptune. But the people demanded it, and not being able to obtain fatisfaction, they became furious. They began to throw stones, and Octavius coming to present himwhich Ocfelf to the enraged populace, run a risk of betavius runs ing killed. Neither his firmness in exposing bis life, but himself to their blows, nor his representations, is deliver'd nor even his entreaties, when he faw the danger became preffing, could calm the fury of the tumult. Antony came to his affiffance, and as he pass'd for being well enough disposed in favour of the peace they defired, the people at first did not offer to hurt him, but only begged him to retire. Upon his refusing they threw stones at him, and he was obliged to fend orders for the troops, who having made a great flaughter among the mutineers, opened a passage for him to where his colleague was, whom he at last disengaged. The dead bodies were thrown into the Tiber, and their number, together with the licentiousness of the foldiers and mob, who plundered them, was a new subject of grief, but of a grief which fear

A feaft given by Octavius, plaint.

obliged them to conceal. Octavius increased this discontent by the feast which he gave according to custom, upon a new fub. occasion of his first using the Razor, and the jed of com- first-fruits of his beard, consecrated in ceremony to fome God. The young Romans never shaved till the age of one or two and

twenty

twenty years; but contented themselves with A. R. 713. clipping the hairs which were too long, Octa-Ant. C. 39. vius had waited till he was five and twenty years old. He wanted to celebrate that day with magnificence, and give a feast to all the populace. But instead of being applauded for this by the multitude, it renewed their com-They observed that this extraordinary and useless expence was very ill placed, at a time when the citizens were starving.

Octavius at last was obliged to yield to the Octavius people, or rather to necessity, and give his consents to a confent to an accommodation with Sextus. In with Sexthe mean while, to fave appearances, he would turn not be feen in the beginning of a negotiation. It was Antony who first proposed the affair to Libo, the father-in-law of Sextus, and brotherin-law of Octavius. He proposed to Libo's friends at Rome to invite him by letters to come and visit his country, in order to enjoy the advantages of his new alliance with Octavius, and on another account still more important. Libo having obtained the confent of Sextus, came to the island of * Enaria, upon * Ischia, the coast of Campania, at a small distance from Naples. But he would not proceed any further without a fafe-guard from Octavius, who fill made the people prefs him to grant it. The ardour of the multitude for peace was fo great, that they forced Mucia, the mother of Sextus, to go to her fon, and join her maternal authority to the wishes of the citizens; and upon that lady's making some refistance at first, the people were in such a rage, as to

This precaution of the people was by no yields to it, means superfluous. Sextus himself had no in- bis inclirenerals,

threaten to burn her in her house. The sexten

clination nations.

R 3

A. R. 231. clination to peace, and Menas, his freedman and confident, who at that time commanded confiderable fea and land forces in Sardinia, wrote to him not to leave off the war, or at least to spin out the negotiation as long as he could, that the famine might render the Triumviri more tractable, and procure him more

advantageous conditions.

It is true that those illustrious Romans, who had found a retreat in Italy, were of a contrary opinion, and alledged that he only advised the continuation of the war, because thereby he gained great profits and honours. And they probably gueffed right, but it was an easy matter to retort the reproach against themselves, for their interest was manifest in the opinion they embraced. It was visible that they wanted to return to their own country after fo long an exile; and Sextus, no doubt, knew well enough that they fuffer'd impatiently the credit which his freedman had with him. It was at this time that Murcus, behaving with more haughtiness than the rest, was basely affassinated by order of Sextus; and as this tragical example ferved as a warning to those who was of his way of thinking, to be more circumspect with regard to their external behaviour, it only encreased their desire to free them from the dependance on a chief, who was capable of acting in fo cruel a manner.

A conference between the three generals.

Libo felt the difficulty of conducting a negotiation, which could not succeed but contrary to the natural wishes of the parties to be reconciled. In order to get rid of the trouble, and not to expose himself to reproaches, he proposed a conference between the three generals,

of the 200000

generals, that fo they might terminate the diff A. R. Ant. C. 11 forences between themselves. The people of Rome on one lide, and the fugitives fied for refuge to Sextus on the other, supported the proposition to strongly, that it was accepted. Antony and Octavius march d with their troops to the coast of Base; and Sextus came to lie before the Promontory of Misenum, on board a cally of the coast of Base; and Sextus came board a gally of fix nows of oars, attended by a

beautiful and numerous fleet,

In preparing for the conference, they took fuch measures as thew d they had but little confidence in one another. Upon stakes drove into the fea they raised two bridges, between which they left an empty toace. That bridge which joined to the land was for the Triumviris the other for Sextus. At the first interview, their claims were widely different. Sextus demanded no less than to be made a colleague with Octavius and Antony, and to be libstituted in the room of the weak Lepidus. The Triumviri, on the contrary, would only allow him the simple liberty of returning to Rome. They parted then very little fatisfied with one another, but in the mean time, without breaking off the negotiation. The famine was a prefling reason for the Triumviri, and Sextus law himself warmly solicited by these who were about him. They even committed violence upon him in a manner; and at a time when they fatigued him with their follicitations. he cried out, tearing his clothes, that he was betray'd by those whom he had saved, and that Menas was the only person, whose bravery and fidelity he could depend upon. However, in spite of so strong a prorestation, he quality A. R. 713 fons, supported by those of his mother. The peace was concluded upon very honourable terms for him, if he could have depended upon their being punctually observed,

Conditions of the

treaty.

In this treaty he ftipulated for himself, for the illustrious fugitives to whom he had

given fanctuary, and for his foldiers.

For himself he obtained, the confirmed and peaceable possession of the islands of Sicily, Sardinia, and Corsica, to which was likewise added Achaia. All which he was to possess, as long as the Triumviri themselves should enjoy their proper districts. They likewise promised him the Consulship, with a power to exercise that office in his absence, by means of any of his friends whom he should appoint his proxy. They also assured him of the dignity of Augur, and seventy millions of Sesterces on his father's estate, sive hundred and forty six thousand, nine hundred and forty six thousand, nine hundred and forty six thousand,

As to the fuigtives, or exiles, they were distributed into three classes, the murderers of Cælar, the proscribed, and those who had fled voluntarily. The first were not comprehended in the treaty. But according to the testimony of Appian and Dio, they had a verbal commission granted them, to chuse a place of exile, where they might live in fafety. The proscribed were re-established in all their rights and privileges; but they restored them only a fourth part of their goods which had been confiscated. Those who had neither been condemn'd nor proferib'd, were reftor'd to all their privileges and estates, except their moveables. Some of the most distinguished amongst them, obtained expressly magistracies and priestships.

The

Appian.

The foldiers of Sextus were likewise treated A. R. 713. very favourably. There were a great many of them in the condition of flaves. Being fure of finding liberty in Sicily, the flaves had deferted in flocks out of Italy; and this defertion came to fuch a height, that the Vestals, amongst the vows which they address'd to the Gods for the good of the empire, had received orders the preceding year to add a prayer, defiring a cessation of that calamity. The slaves, who had inlifted with Sextus, were preserved by the treaty in the enjoyment of their liberty; and they promised the free soldiers, who served in the army and fleets, the same recompences, after their term of fervice should be expired, which had been granted to the foldiers of the Triumviri.

For fo many advantages which Sextus reaped from this treaty, he reciprocally engaged himself to draw off his troops from the ports which they occupied in Italy; no more to receive any fugitive flaves; not to augment his naval forces; to defend Italy against the pyrates, and to fend to Rome the same remittances of corn and other taxes, which those isles that were yielded to him used formerly to pay.

After those articles had been adjusted, the folemn act which confirmed them was fealed by the three contracting generals, and fent to Rome to be kept by the Vestals, as a precious and facred charge. The conferences ended with testimonies of reciprocal friendship; they shook hands and embraced.

The joy which this peace occasioned, was The extreme equal to the ardour with which it was defired. joy which Italy delivered from the fear of a famine, which occasion'd. already

250 MARCHUS and CALVISIUS, Confuls.

A.R. 713 already began to be violently felt, and a great number of the Citizens of Rome restored to their country after a long exile, were for a while inexhaustible subjects both of publick and particular congratulations. The most illustrious of those who were re-established by this treaty.

Vell. II. were L. Arruntius, and M. Julius Silanus, C. Sentius Saturninus, and M. Titius, who, after returning thanks to Sextus proportion'd to the

favour they had received of him, followed Octavius to Rome, and were afterwards advanced

to the highest honours.

The three Chiefs entertain one another by turns.

Those who were the least contented with this peace, were doubtless the three Chiefs who concluded it. It is very certain, that Octavius especially, at the same time that he swore, was firmly resolved to break it the first opportunity. They all three however, shewed great appearances of rejoycings, by the entertainments which they agreed to give one another by turns.

An expreffion of Sextus to Antony. Plut. Ant. Appian. Dio.

They drew lots among them who should begin; and the lot falling upon Sextus, Antony asked him where he would receive them: "In "my keel, replied Sextus; for that is all the "paternal house which remains to Pompey." This was a reproach to Antony, who had usurped the house which belonged to Pompey in Rome. The allusion is still more happy in the Latin, because the same "word which Sextus made use of to express his vessel, was the name of that part of Rome where his father's house stood.

During the entertainment, they were very merry, and chiefly at the expence of Antony, whose passion for Cleopatra furnished matter for

already

In carinia meia. Val. II. 27

a great deal of pleasantry; but the scene would A. R. 743. have changed, and become very ferious, if Sex A remark tus had yielded to the advice of Menas, who able in whispered him in the ear; " Allow me to cut flance of his. the cordage of the anchors, and thus make generality, you mafter not only of Sicily and Sardinian ing the ad-"but also of the whole universe." The en vice of Metigement was strong, and Sextus had need of masreflection to confirm himself against so powerful a temptation. He confidered it a moment, and honour prevailing over his interest and ambition, he answered Menas; "You ought to have done it without telling me; but fince you have mentioned it to me, we must be "content with what we have, for I cannot

" perjure myfelf."

Sextus's guests heard nothing of what was faid, and the entertainment ended as gaily as it begun. They even began to talk of pub-Appian. lick affairs, and projected a marriage between Dio. two children who were very young, viz. the daughter of Sextus with young Marcellus, the fon of Octavia, fon-in-law to Antony, and nephew to Octavius. Appian adds, that next day they entered into schemes amongst themfelves with regard to the Consulship for a great while to come. I shall hereafter mention what is necessary about this, in its proper place The Triumviri treated their new allies fuccessively in their turns in tents pitched purposely on the beach; after which they parted, Sextus returned to Sicily, and Octavius and Antony to Rome

They passed some time there in perfect harmony, and agreed in all affairs of confequence wherein they were concerned. But in their games and amusements, the superiority of Oc-

tavius

ly, and arrives at Atbens. Plut.

A. R. 713 tavius above Antony, put the latter out of hu-Ant. C. 39 mour. In short, Plutarch assures us, that in out of bu- every game of chance between them, Octavius mour at lo had always the better. At other times, when fing at all they had cock-fighting, or quails, which they games a trained up to that exercise, the victory was algainst Oc- ways on Octavius's side. This continual train tavius. He of bad success in trifles, was a real mortificaleaves Ita- tion to Antony, and disposed him to listen to the advice of an Egyptian astrologer, who belonged to his retinue, and who, whether he was himself the dupe of his own deceitful art, or, which is more likely, was gained over by Cleopatra, to bring back Antony to her, was constantly telling him that his fortune, which of itself was great and exalted, was obscured by that of Octavius. He exhorted him in consequence of it to shun the presence of his young colleague. " For, faid he, your ge-" nius is afraid of his. When it is alone, and far removed from this competitor, it is fierce " and elevated, but when they approach near each other, it is fearful and dejected." However contemptible fuch a philosophy may be. these superstitious notions, joined to those fmall, but fenfible and repeated difgusts, which Antony received, had their effect. He left Italy, and arrived at Athens, taking with him Octavia, who a little while before was delivered of a daughter. aman an annua morta an vio

His popular behaviour with the Albenians.

Antony's stay at Athens was very agreeable to him, and he paffed the winter there, laying afide the pomp of his high station which conftrained him, and familiarizing himfelf willingly with a people, who have always had the character of gaity, politeness, and an ingenious flattery towards their superiors. Thus in the feast

feast which he gave to the Athenians, on ac-A-R. 773. count of the victories which Ventidius his lieutenant had obtained over the Parthians, as I shall very soon relate, he exercised himself the office of master of the revels. He substituted the badges of his office of a citizen, to the magnificent equipages of the triumviral dignity, and presided at the feast in a cloak and socks after the Grecian manner.

It was in consequence of the same taste for They treat foolish trifling, that partly from drunkenness, bim as a and partly from a popular vein, he renewed the new Bacscene which he had acted before in Asia, in down be making himself be honoured as a new Bacchus. demands of They observed, on his account, all the joyous them for his ceremonies of the God of wine, and he repre-marriage fented him personally persectly well. But the with Mi-Athenians being willing to encourage this hu- Athen. IV mour of Antony, were but very ill rewarded 12. for their pleafantry. For taking it into their Sen. Suaheads, after having faluted him as Bacchus, to for. I. offer him in marriage the goddess Minerva, their protectress, he accepted the proposal, and taxed them at a thousand talents as her dowry. A wag in the company represented to him on this subject, that Semele her mother had brought no portion to Jupiter. But Antony still persisted in demanding the thousand talents, and without delay. Tho' Dellius, still pursuing the same humour, observed to him, that according to the usual practice at Rome, they had commonly three years allowed them to pay the portion at three different payments. This affair put the Athenians into an ill humour, and fet them on pasquinading Antony for it, which only diverted him, not at all enwying them this little revenge.

While

A.R. 713. Plut.

While he amused himself with those frivo-Ant. C. 39 lous pastimes, Ventidius made war for him against the Parthians with fuccess capable of raising his jealousy. His thirst after the glory of arms was not at all abated. He was afraid that his lieutenants would leave him nothing to do, and having resolved to put himself at the head of his armies in the East, he fet out from Athens the beginning of the year, when Ap. Claudius and Norbanus were Confuls.

6. TH.

Motions of the Parthians. Conducted by Lubienus the fon, they invade Syria. They establish Antigonas king of Judea, and carry away Hyrcan prisoner. Labienus conquers Cilicia, and penetrates as far as Caria. Ventidius, Antony's tientenant, arrives, and obtains over the Parthians two victories fuccefficely. Amony, jealous of the glory of Ventidius, leaves Athens to put bimself at the bead of bis armies. The third victory of Ventidius, where Pacorus prince of the Parthians is killed. Ventidius dares not push bis advantages, for fear of provoking the jealousy of Antony. The fiege of Samofates, the success of which does no bonour to Antony, The triumph of Ventidius. The taking of Ferufalem, by Sofus and Herod. Antigonus is whip'd with rods, and put to death like a eriminal. Herod put in peaceable possession of the crown. Confusion and contempt of all the laws in Rome. Ottavius falls in love with Livia. He divorces Scribonia the same day she was delivered of Juha. He marries Livia, who was yielded to bim by her bulband, when the was fix months gone with child. The birth of Drufus. Tiberius

rius and Drusus brought up in the palace of Octavius. Causes of the rupture between Octavius and Sextus. Menas made free by Sextus, goes into Octavius's service. Preparations of Octavius for the war. A sea-fight near Cuma. Another near the rock of Scylla, where Octavius's sleet is very much damaged. A tempest compleats the ruin of the naval forces of Octavius. Sextus does not know how to make a right use of this opportunity. Octavius takes time to make new preparations. Agrippa, conqueror in Gaul, refuses a triumph. A continuation of the Triumviri for sive years: Agrippa charged with the preparations for war against Sextus. The port of Julius formed by the junction of the lakes of Lucrinus and Avernus. A pretended Omen which happened to Livia.

Ap. CLAUDIUS PULCHER. C. NORBANUS FLACCUS.

Have deferred till now mentioning the mo-A. R. 714. C. 38. tions of the Parthians, that I might be able Motions of to connect them into one fubject. It will there-the Parfore be necessary to begin farther back.

From the beginning of the civil wars amongst Justin. the Romans, the Parthians had always an inclination to follow Pompey's party. They remembered that that general, when he was formerly in the East, had observed a pacific conduct with regard to them. And besides, they knew that M. Crassus, second son of Crassus their enemy, was attached to Cæsar, and had served in his army, which was another motive for them to imagine, that if this faction became victorious, they had reason to expect a war. And indeed, we have seen that

A.R. 714. Cæsar was ready to make war upon them, at Ant. C. 38. the time he was affaffinated.

After his death, the Parthians still pursuing their plan, favoured Brutus and Cassius. They had prepared to fend them fuccours, when they received the news of their defeat, and deplorable end.

Conducted. by Labiethey invade Syria. Dio.

The person who sollicited their assistance, was Labienus, the fon of the famous deferter, nus the son, who from being Cæsar's creature and lieutenant, became his implacable enemy. The fon inherited his father's hatred against Cæsar's party; and having loft his hopes by the ruin of Brutus and Cassius, he chose rather to remain under a foreign power, than to expose himself to inevitable death in his own country. At first, he was but little confidered by those who protected him; but having always his eye upon the turn which affairs took in the Roman Empire, upon the first troubles which arose between Octavius and Antony, he represented to the Parthians, that it was a favourable opportunity for them; and that while the principal Roman forces destroy'd each other in Italy, by the Tuscan war, and Antony was render'd effeminate in Egypt by Cleopatra, they might avenge themselves for the unjust war which Crassus had made against them, and even invade the Roman provinces, which were fituated in their neighbourhood, and lay convenient for them.

His advice was liften'd to, and Orodes, king of the Parthians, raifed a powerful army to make an invation upon Syria. He established his fon Pacorus general of this army, and gave him for his counfellors Barzapharnes and Labienus, in whose good conduct he chiefly depended for fuccess. And indeed, he was not

dilap-

disappointed in his hope. Antony had left De-A. R. 714. cidius Saxa, who had been a long time strongly attached to him, to command in Syria. But the troops which he gave him, had ferved under Cassius. Labienus found then among them, friends and acquaintances, and he knew fo well to take the advantage of that, and to put them in mind of the oath they had formerly taken to the defenders of the Roman liberty, that they revolted to a man. All the towns opened their gates to them, and even Apame and Antioch received them, and Saxa, abandoned by his army, was reduced to kill himself with his own hand, that he might not fall into the power of the conqueror. There was only Tyre which refifted the Parthians, conducted by Labienus. The garifon was faithful, and was supplied by a concourse of all those who had left Syria, in order to shun the new voke of the Parthians.

Having thus subdued Syria, the Parthians They shabpassed into Judea, whither they were invited lish Antigor by Antigonus, nephew and rival to Hyrcan. Judea, and That prince, possessed with the blind fury of carry away reigning, was not ashamed to promise them, Hyrcan in order to obtain their affistance, not only a prisoner. thousand talents of silver, but five hundred XIV. 23. women. The Parthians over-run all Judea, & de B. and, seconded by Antigonus's party, they easi- Jud. 1. 11. ly rendered themselves masters of the whole country, and penetrated into Jerusalem. Herod and his brother, who defended, or rather governed Hyrcan, made nevertheless a strong resistance in the palace. But the Parthians, joining perfidy to force, according to their usual practice, persuaded the weak Hyrcan, and even Phazael, the brother of Herod, to VOL. XV. come

A. R. 714 come and negotiate a peace with them; and when they had them in their power, they put them in chains, contrary to their oath, and delivered them to their enemies. Phazael killed himself in despair. As to Hyrcan, the rage of Antigonus hurried him to fuch an unnatural excess, as to make him bite and tear his ears off, thereby to render him for ever uncapable of the lovereign priefthood, which by the law could not be enjoy'd by a man who was maim'd in any of his members. The Parthians even carried away with them the unfortunate Hyrcan, that Antigonus, whom they had established king of Judea, might have no um-It was at that time that Herod, having no more refource in any of those whom he faw about him, went to Rome, as I have before related, and obtained of Antony and Octavius the title of king.

Labienus licia, and benetrates as far as Caria. Dio.

Labienus pushed his victories, and entered Subdues Ci- into Cilicia. Plancus was charged by Antony to defend the provinces of Afia, but being a very indifferent warrior, he fled at the approach of the enemy, and went over into fome of the neighbouring ifles, where he found a fure retreat, because the Parthians had no ves-The country thus abandoned, lay at the mercy of the conquerors, and Labienus penetrated even to Caria, where he took and destroy'd the towns of Mylafa and Alabanda. But he failed in his attempt upon Stratonicia.

Hybreas, the Orator whom I have had occasion already to mention, did the duty of a good citizen upon this occasion, and animated the Carians, his countrymen, to defend them-As he was a man of an felves with courage. agreeable wit, he ridiculed the vanity of Labienus,

bienus, and in order to contrast the title of Parl A. R. 714. thian, which that general took, he caused him- Strabo I. felf to be called Carian. This pleasantry was XIV. p. very well founded, for Labienus acted quite 660. & the reverse of the Roman generals, who bor Dio. rowd new furnames of the provinces which they had vanduished, and not of those whom he led to make war against their countrymen. The fuccess afterwards was not favourable to Hybreas, his country and the town of Mylafa were ruined; as I have faid; and he himself obliged to retire to the island of Rhodes, in order to fave his life.

Such was the fituation of affairs when Ventil Ventidius. dius arrived in Asia; being sent by Antony, Antony's who had just concluded the treaty at Brundu- lieutenant from with Octavius. As foon as he arrived, and obtains things entirely changed their appearance. Lat over the bienus retreated immediately as far as mount Parthians Taurus, in order to be supplied with the forces two villoof the Parthians, the main body of which remained ftill in Syria. Ventidius followed them; and upon approaching the army of the Parthans, knowing the fuperiority of the cavalry of that nation in fighting upon plain ground, he encamped upon a height, affecting a fnew of timidity. The enemy, proud of their numbers, and the victories which they had gained, came and imprudently attacked him upon a rising ground. In a kind of fight where agility of motion or arrows were of lit tle service, all the advantage was on the side of the Romans. They had greatly the better of the Parthians, and without trouble or rifk cut them in pieces, and routed them. Labienus faved himfelf by flight: But was known, aftershe had wandered forme time in Cilicia, by Deme-

A. R. 714 Demetrius, a freedman of Cæfar the Dictator, and proposed by Antony for the government of the island of Cyprus, who took him prifoner, and, very probably, put him to death. What makes me of this opinion is, that history makes no more mention of him after he was taken. This first victory of Ventidius, restored to Antony all the country which Labienus had taken from him in Asia.

> It was prefently followed by a fecond, in which the Satrap Barzapharnes was killed, and which recovered to the Romans all Syria. There was only the little island of Aradus, which perfifted in rebellion; because it had offended Antony too much, to hope for any favour. The inhabitants of Aradus had burnt alive Curtius Salassus, who came to raise contributions upon them for Antony. They were obstinate in maintaining the fiege, which was long. For they were a courageous people, and skilful in war. But their forces were too unequal to be able to get the better.

It was upon occasion of these two victories Antony, of Ventidius, that Antony celebrated at Athens jealous of the glory of the feast which I have given an account of. I Ventidius, have added that the Triumvir, jealous of the leagues honour of his lieutenant, marched speedily to Atbens to put bimself gather those laurels which properly belonged at the head to him, and the honour of which he only borof bis arrowed. But before he arrived at the army, mies. Ventidius had obtained a third victory, which Plut. Ant. might be looked upon as putting an end to the war.

> Pascorus returned into Syria with a numerous army, during the Confulship of Ap. Claudius and Norbanus, and had he made hafte to pass the Euphrates, he would very much have

embarras'd Ventidius, who had not, at that A. R. 711. time, all his forces affembled, and a part of Ant. C. 4r. whose legions was then in Cappadocia, beyond the third victory of mount Taurus. In order to prevent this from Ventidius, happening, he made use of artifice. There where Pawas in his camp a Syrian prince, named corus, Channæus, who he knew kept a correspondence the Parwith the Parthians. Ventidius instead of punish- thians, is ing him, or shewing any distrust, feigned killed. fometimes to confult him, and on the occasion Dio. 1. which we are now fpeaking of he told him, XLIX. that he should be very glad if the enemy would pass the river at Zeugma, according to their usual custom; because in that country there were heights, which he knew how to make use of against them; but that he should look upon it as an unfavourable circumstance to him, if they went to fearch for a passage below, where they would find plains very commodious for the operations of their cavalry. The perfidious Channaeus laid hold of this false confidence, and, being imposed upon by Ventidius, he imposed upon the prince of the Parthians, who thought he could not take a better resolution than that which the enemy was afraid of. This retarded Pacorus forty days, both on account of the large fweep he was obliged to take, and because the river being very broad at the part where he passed it, the throwing a bridge over it took up a great deal of time. During this interval, Ventidius had fufficient leisure to affemble his troops, and he had his army compleat three days before the Parthians had passed the river.

The two armies met in the Cyrrhestica, a country of Syria, and they were not long in fight of each other before they came to blows:

The

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A. R. 714. The Parthians, tho' they had been twice defeated by Ventidius, had loft nothing of their rash prefumption, but became new dupes to the same appearance of timidity, by which that general had before drawn them into the fnare. Pacorus, seeing that the Romans kept close in their camp, came to attack them. But he was not only repulsed, but loft the best of his troops, and even his life. He died fighting valiantly, and his death compleated the rout of his army. The Romans obtained an entire victory, and they reckon'd then that they had payed back the Parthians, for the defeat of Craffus. The fliers divided themselves. Those who attempted to get back to the bridge, were the most part prevented and flain by the victors. The rest revired to Antiochus king of Commagena.

Ventidius
dares not
puß bis adwantages,
for fear of
provoking
the jealoufy
of Antony.
Plut. &
Dio.

If Ventidius had purfued his victory, and entered Mesopotamia, the empire of the Parthians had been exposed to very great danger. For the death of Pacorus had spread an extraordinary confernation amongst them. But Antony's lieutenant was afraid of having too well ferved his general, and he did not think that it was at all prudent to exasperate, by a new fuccess, his jealousy, which had already been carried but too far. He therefore contented himself with bringing back to their duty the little princes and towns of Syria, which still preferved an affection for the Parthians; and knowing that Pacorus made himself equally beloved by the Syrians for his justice, as admired for his bravery, he order'd his head to be carried all round the country, that being convinced of his death by the testimony of their own eyes, the people might more easily forget

forget a prince, whom they could never be A.R. 724. detach'd from while they thought he was titte conqueror brewever was not sville

All fubmitted to the conqueror; only An The fiege of tiochus of Commagena, who was fummon'd Samofatis, to deliver the Parthians, that had fled to him the fuccess for refuge, refused to obey. Ventidius went does no therefore to beliege him in Samolatis, his bonour to capital, and very foon obliged him to defire to Antony. capitulate for the fum of a thousand talents. The express orders of Antony hindered this propolal from being accepted. He was just upon his arrival, and he wanted to referve for himself at least this last exploit, and to take the town of Samosatis by force. But his political jealoufy turned out very ill. The ardour of the foldiers cool'd when they faw Ventidius, instead of being honoured and recompenced. turn'd out of all employment. And, on the contrary, the courage of the belieged was animated, by the despair which the refusal of their offer occasion'd. The siege then was four out to a great length, and Antony at last was extremely glad to accept of three hundred talents instead of a thousand, and to grant a peace to Antiochus for this fum.

This was the only fruit of Antony's expedition. He then returned to Octavia at Athens. whose lover he was at that time, as well as her husband. Happy, if that lawful passion for his wife, had effaced for ever from his heart the remembrance of Cleopatra.

They decreed him a triumph at Rome for the victories of Ventidius; and in this there was nothing contradictory to the Roman laws, because it was the custom with them, always to attribute the honour of military fuccesses to

befored.

CLAUDIUS and NORBANUS, Confuls, 264

A. R. 714 the general, under whose auspices they were Ant, C. 38. de de de from while they monde ball sto

The triumph of Ventidius.

The true conqueror however was not frustrated of his reward; for Antony, altho' he was jealous of his lieutenant, was not of an unjust or malicious character, and did not envy Ventidius the triumph he fo well deferved. To omad in paint system of protested

The triumph decreed to Antony was not celebrated, because that general was always employed in other affairs, which he thought preferable. But Ventidius, to whom fuch an honour was extremely agreeable, went to Rome to triumph over the Parthians. The ceremony was celebrated very pompoully the twenty eighth of December. They faw, not without aftonishment in Rome, a triumpher, who had himself been formerly led in And another fingularity, which encreased the glory of Ventidius, was, his being the first who had triumphed over the Parthians, and he was a long time the only one. His extraordinary merit had raifed him from obscurity, and he was only obliged to Antony's friendship, for giving him opportunities of exercifing his talents. Josephus and Dio accuse him of avarice, which is the only fault which hiftory has laid to his charge.

lem by So-Aus and Herod. Joseph.

The taking The victories of Ventidius paved the way of Jerula for Herod's advancement, by depriving Antigonus of the aid of the Parthians. This however was not an easy affair, to destroy Antigonus, even after he had only his own forces to trust to. That prince, supported by his courage, and the affection of the greatest part of the nation of Judia, made a relistance at least for the space of a year; and Sosius, who had been

fettled

fettled governor of Syria, by Antony, was A. R. 714. obliged to employ all the Roman troops under his command against so unequal an enemy. The city of Jerusalem, besieged not only by Herod, but by Sofius, at the head of a Roman army, confifting of eleven legions, defended itself for the space of five months. It was taken piece by piece; the belieged intrenching themselves always further in, in proportion as they abandoned what was forced by the enemy. In short, the temple, which was their last resource, and in the fanctity of which, these sensual people placed a blind confidence, was taken by affault, on the fabbath, when they celebrated the folemn fast of the third month; and confequently the fame day that Pompey made himself master of it twenty fix years before. For I have placed that event here. which happened the year following.

The victors overflowed Jerusalem with the blood of its inhabitants, without distinction either of age or Sex. The indignation of the Romans was animated by the obstinate defence of the belieged, and the hatred of party, which was still more violent, pushed the Jews, who were attached to Herod, to grant no quarter to their unfortunate countrymen. However, after the first fury was fatisfied, Herod faved the remains of that wretched city. He reprefented to the foldiers, that if they infifted upon plundering it, they would make him king of a defert. But these representations would have had very little effect, if they had not been enforced by money, which he liberally diffributed amongst the Romans, from the general

to the common foldier.

A. R. 714 Ast. C, 38

Herod took also great pains to hinder the prophanation of the temple, by putting a ftop to the indifcreet and eager curiofity of this multitude of ftrangers and gentiles. This great care of his deferves to be commended, provided it was the effect of zeal in him, and not to be attributed to a felfish policy, and the defire of gaining the affection of the people, he was going to reign over to violated and inou

Antigonus like a criminal. in peaceable possession of the crown.

For the throne was his only object, and he whiptwith facrificed every thing to his lambition: Thus put to death as the life of Antigonus must create eternal difquietudes in him, and always render uncertain his possession of the crown, he shewed no Herod put generolity with regard to that unfortunate prince. On the contrary, he was obstinately bent on purfuing him to death. Antigonus, by a conduct very little worthy of that courage which he had till then difcovered, gave himfelf up willingly into the hands of Sofius, who fent him, in chains, to Antioch, whither Antony was return'd; where Herod by his money and folicitations obtained, that he should be tried for his life as a criminal. Plut. Dio. He was condemned, bound to a post, beaten with rods, and at last beheaded by the hands of a lictor, punishments which the Romans had never before inflicted upon any crown'd head. In him ended the reign of the Afmoneans, who had exercised the lovereign power, together with the high-prienthood, during the space of fix-score years. Herod saw himself then at the height of his willres, no more fimply adorned with the vain title of Royalty, but in real and peaceable possession of a kingdom, which fome years before he rather longed after, than hoped for. We

Jof.

We must now return to the affairs of Rome, A. R. 714. and Italy, which present us with a spectacle not less animated, though less shining in history.

The confusion, and contempt of all the laws, Confusion, continued to disfigure the face of the city, and con-During that year which the Confuls, Ap-tempt of all pius Claudius and Norbanus begun, they the laws in reckened fixty-feven Prætors; the Triumviri Die. multiplying the number of magistrates without measure, by deposing and restoring as they took it into their heads. The Quæftorship, for which none could be regularly named before the age of twenty-feven years, was given to a youth who had not yet laid aside the Topa protexto; and he put on the Virilis next day after he was named. A Senator newly created wanted to fight as a gladiator; but he was prevented, and they made a decree, forbidding this inhuman debasement of the Senatorial dignity. But fury and perverieness had more force than this decree, which was frequently violated under the following emperors.

The affairs which employed Octavius, and octavius were constantly his main object, did not how-fall in ever hinder his being fensible to love. Livia love with found means to inspire him with a strong and Livia. lafting passion, more by the power of her wit, than the charms of her beauty. She was lately returned to Rome with her husband. Tiberius Nero. I have mentioned before, that a zeal for the Republick, after the Perusian war, had made him by into Sicily with his whole family. There, his pride and haughrihels could not stoop to that complacency which Sextus de-Suet. Tib. manded; and he went into Greece after An- c. 4 tony, who brought him back with him into

Italy.

A. R. 714 Ant. C. 3 Scribonia the fame day fee was deliwered of Tulia. Suet. Aug. Dio.

Livia was but a short while in Rome till she engaged the affection of Octavius. He was He divorces indeed married, but the peevish humour of Scribonia his wife was very disagreeabl to him, and perhaps the infinuating gentleness of Livia, contributed not a little to make Scribonia's rough behaviour the more insupportable. He used so little ceremony with her, 16. & 68, that he divorced her the same day she was delivered of a daughter, who turned out afterwards the too famous Julia.

He marries Livia, wbo was vielded to busband. when she was fix months gone

Suet. Th

SIVIA

Presently Octavius wanted to contract a marriage with her whom he was in love with. But there was an obstacle in the way, which bim by ber appeared likely to retard it, for the was fix months gone with child, and they could not, without breaking through all the laws and rules of decency, dispense with waiting till she with child, was deliver'd. The impatience of Octavius would not fuffer this delay, but attentive and skilful in finding of colours, to fave at least external appearances, he confulted the college of the Pontiffs upon that extraordinary queftion, if a woman in Livia's situation could be lawfully married? To this confultation, which was rather a derision, as Tacitus calls it, the Pontiffs answered gravely, that provided it was uncertain who was the father of the child, the marriage could not be fuffer'd; but that the circumstance of a child conceived lawful wedlock, being well known after the mother hath been fix months pregnant, there could be no difficulty in the case proposed. Such was the decision of the Pontiss, con-

^{*} Consulti per ludibrium Pontifices, an concepto necdum de .3 edito partu rite nuberet. Tac. Ann. 1. 10.

formable perhaps, fays Dio, to what they A. R. 714. found in their books. But if their books had Ant. C. 38. told them the contrary, their answer would certainly have been the fame. ' and and I , and

The next thing they had to confider, was Vell, II. the ceremony of the marriage, in which Livia's 79. Suet. husband performed the office of a father, with regard to her, and authorized her to engage with Octavius. At the marriage supper, the simplicity of a child, whom Livia amused herfelf with, rebuked the new married couple for the indecency of their conduct. For as Octavius and Livia were upon the fame couch at table, and Tiberius Nero upon another, the little flave, who did not yet understand the reason of it, approach'd in a surprise to Livia, and faid to her, What do you do there, madam? Bebold your busband, shewing Tiberius Nero to her, who is at a great distance from you.

At the end of three months Livia was de- The birth livered of a fecond fon, whose name was of Drusus. Drusus, and Octavius did not fail to send him to Tiberius Nero, as being his father. But he could not, by this precaution, hinder people from believing that the child was his own. There was a Greek verse current amongst the people, to this purpose, " The happy have "children after three months marriage." However it is difficult to persuade one's self that Octavius looked upon Drusus as his son, if one reflects, that when he came to name a fuccessor to the empire, he prefer'd to him Marcellus his nephew, Agrippa his fon-in-law, and the fons of his daughter.

Tiberius Nero lived only five years after the birth of Drusus, and when he was dying he

Tois evroxeo, no reiuma maidia. Suet. Claud. c. I. repreis,

CLAUDDUS and NorBANUS, Confuls.

A.R. 714 named Octavius tutor to his two fons. The eldeft, who became afterwards the emperor Tiberius Tiberius, was at that time only nine years of brought up age. Thus his education, as well as that of and Drusus his brother, was directed by the authority, in in the pathe palace, and under the eyes of the first many lace of in the universe, who afted the part of a father Offerius. Suet. Tib. the more heartily to them, as his attachment 4.5.6. for their mother never diminished

Causes of The peace, which was concluded the precedthe rupture ing year, between Sextus Pompelus and the
between Triumviri, was not of long duration. Octavius
and Sextus and Sextus had consented to it against their
Appian. will, and occasions of rupture can never be
Civil.l.V. long wanting to those who are in quest off
Dio. 1. them

Dio. I. them.

270

Sextus complain'd both of Antony and Octavius. Of Antony, for detaining from him the island of Achaia, which had been yielded! to him by the treaty of Missenum; and of Octavius, for not allowing the citizens who were re-established by the same treaty, those advantages which had been promifed them. In consequence of these violations, he alledged, that he had a right to free himself of an engagement which confined him extremely. It was not without the greatest regret and fear, that he faw himfelf conftrained not to augment his forces, while those of the Triumviri were infinitely superior. He caused new vessels to be built, engaged rowers, and even feeretly author rized the pyrates, whom he had promised to

^{*} Senfere (Rhæti) quid mens rite, quid indoles Nutrita faustis sub penetralibus
Posset, quid Augusti paternus
In pueros animus Nerones.

Hor: Od. IV. 4.

reprefs, to feize the provisions which were A. R. 714. coming by fea to Rome, and other places in Aut. C. 35, Italy, so that the famine, which had scarce given them time to breathe, began again to press them almost as hard as before; And that peace, which at first was received with fuch universal applause, fremid to the Romans to procure them no other advantage, than that of adding a fourth tyrant to the three, which before oppressed them, and baser out one

In the defign which Octavius had to renew the war, nothing could happen more agreeable to his wishes, than this conduct of Sextus. especially with respect to the provisions, so interesting to the multitude, and so capable of irritating them against the author of their mifery. On this account, he fludied to make a full difcovery of the collusion of Sextus with the pyrates, who infested the seas. Some of these pyrates having been made prisoners, were by his order put to the torture, and he caused their depositions, which laid the blame upon Sextus, to be published. He confirmed this first testimony by that of Menas, who at this time came over to him, unworthily, betraying his patron and benefactor.

It appears that Menas had courage for war, Menas, and fleilbin fea affairs ; but he was proud made free and arrogant, and join'd to those vices all the by Sextus, meanness of the foul of a flave. As he go- goes into Octavius's verned absolutely his patron, his authority was fervice. insupportable to those illustrious Romans, who fill acknowledged Sextus as their chief. They had tried to shake off the yoke themselves by ruining his credit; but feeing that Sextus gave no ear to any but his freedmen, they had recourse to this method, and ftirid up the

A. R. 114 jealousy of Menas's fraternity. These, under Ant. C. 38. the authority of those great men, were easily determined to do that which they had a strong inclination to before. They prevail'd in raising suspicions in the mind of their patron, and an order was sent to Menas, who commanded in Sardinia, to come and give an account of his administration.

Menas, who was artful, had foreseen the ftorm, and the preceding year had made his court to Octavius, by fending to him one of his freedmen, named Helenus, taken in a battle in Sardinia. Helenus was very well esteemed by his patron, who consequently had been touch'd with the politeness of Menas. After this first introduction, Menas continued to embrace every occasion of rendering himfelf agreeable to Octavius, and when he faw his diffrace refolved upon, he found means to acquaint him, that he would deliver to him all that he had under his command; that is to fay, the islands of Sardinia and Corsica, three legions, fixty gallies, and a confiderable number of brave officers. Octavius was in doubt fome time, whether he should accept the offers of a traitor, whom he was very fensible he could not truft. In fine, the present advantage he would be of to him carried it, and Menas, having received affurances in time, caused to be stoped and put to death, those who had been fent from Sextus, and paffed over with his fleet and troops to the colours of Octavius He was received with a distinction which was not granted to his person, but to the affiftance which he brought with him. The Triumviri order'd, that he should enjoy the fame honours as those who were born free; he adorned

adorned him with a gold ring, and admitted A. R. 714. him into the order of the Roman knights. He even allowed him to fit at his table, an honour which he never granted, either before or after, to any freedman. In short, he gave him the title and rank of lieutenant general; that so in this quality he might command, under the admiral Calvisius Sabinus, the sixty vessels which he had brought with him.

Sextus was extremely irritated at the treachery Appian.

of Menas; he even demanded him back as a Dio. fugitive flave to whom he had a right, and in order to revenge himself of Octavius's refusing to fend him back, he fent Menecrates, one of his freedmen, with a fquadron to plunder the coast of Campania. By this hostility, Octavius alledged that the peace was absolutely broke. He took out of the hands of the Vestals, the treaty of Missenum, and wrote to Antony and Lepidus, to come and join with him against the common enemy. Lepidus, who was not eafily put in motion, remained still in Africa, and Antony was ready to fet out to take upon him the command of the troops, which fought against the Parthians, under Ventidius, at the time when he received Octavius's letter. He came to Brundusium, but his colleague not meeting him there, he returned immediately. The formidable preparations of Octavius had given him umbrage, and laying hold of the war of the Parthians, which demanded his presence, he wrote to the young Triumvir, that he must of necessity go into Syria, and he advised that the treaty should be observed; and rejecting the cause of the rupture concerning Menas, he threaten'd to demand him in quality of the purchaser of Pompey's estate, of VOL. XV.

CLAUDIUS and NORBANUS, Confuls. 274

A. R. 714 which Menas, as a flave, must be confidered. as a part.

Preparations of Octavius for the war.

Octavius thus reduced to act alone, purfu'd his project with no less eagerness on that account. He had two numerous fleets, the one composed mostly of the vessels of Menas, and commanded, as I have faid, by Calvifius Sabinus, the other built and equipped at Ravenna, upon the Adriatic fea, which had for admiral L. Cornificius. These two fleets. the last of which Octavius wanted to command in person, were according to his plan, to attack the two opposite sides of Sicily at the same time; and his legions were to march by land to Reggio, in order to compleat the victory by passing into Sicily, after having rendered himself master of the sea, by means of his naval forces. But the fuccess did not answer fuch formidable and well concerted plans and preparations.

Sextus had taken measures for a vigorous refistance. For having likewife divided his forces, he had fent Menecrates at the head of a part of his fleet, before Calvisius, and he himfelf remained at Meffina, in order to wait for

Octavius.

A fea-fight Menecrates was brave, a good feaman, and mar Cuma. a personal enemy to the traitor Menas. As foon as he came in fight of the fleet near Cuma, where his adverfary was, he wanted to engage him; but it appears that Calvifius had orders to thun it. It is certain, that inflead of accepting the challenge, he continued to sheer off along the coast, advancing towards the Streights. Menecrates laid hold on this opportunity of attacking the fleet with advantage, and to hem them in to the land, whilft

his rear was free, and he had liberty of steering A. R. 714. his vessels as he pleased. He had already destroy'd, funk, and disabled several vessels. when he observed that of Menas, who also obferv'd him. Their mutual hatred carried thefe two rivals to leave every thing elfe to tear one another to pieces. The shock was so violent, that the beak of the one vessel was carried away, and the other loft all its oars on one fide. They endeavour'd to board each other, but the vessel of Menas had a great advantage over that of Menecrates, because it was higher in the fide. In the middle of the engagement the two chiefs were wounded, almost at the same time. Menas in the arm, and Menecrates in the thigh. The wound of Menas was not very confiderable, but Menecrates was rendered unable for the combat, and not capable of fighting any more in person, animated his men in the mean while to exert themselves; till seeing his vessel taken, he threw himself into the sea, that he might not fall into the power of his enemy.

The death of Menecrates render'd the battle almost equal between the two parties. Demochares his lieutenant, and a freedman of Sextus, as well as himself, tho' he had neither lost near fo many men nor veffels as Calvifius, nevertheless retired into the port of Messina, and lest to Octavius's admiral the liberty of pursuing

his course in order to join his general.

Octavius having received the news of the Another sea-fight near Cuma, sail'd out of the port of rock of Reggio, with his fleet furnished with good Scilla, troops, and paffed the Streights, coafting to-where Ocwards Italy, to receive his lieutenant. Sextus tavius's observed, from Messina, the motions of Octa-nuch da-

Vius. maged.

A. R. 712 vius. He followed him, and having come Ant. C. 40. up with him near the rock of Scylla, fo famous in fable, he attacked him very brifkly. The position of the two fleets was nearly the same, as at the fight of Cuma, and the fuccess not at all different. All the bravery of the legionary foldiers of Octavius, could not refift the fuperiority which their skill in sea affairs, and the advantage of their fituation, gave to Sextus's people. Demochares, who had been put in the room of Menecrates by Sextus, seconded by Apollophanes, another of his freedmen, funk and burnt a great many of the enemies vessels, and perhaps they would all have either been destroyed or taken, if in the evening the victors had not observed Calvisius coming up; upon which they retired, leaving the fleet of Octavius in expressible disorder.

The terror they were in was fo ftrong, that the greatest part left their vessels and saved themselves by land, where the night foon overtook them, before they were able to find either a shelter to defend themselves from the inclemencies of the air, or provisions for their fupport. The only resource which was left them was to light up fires, in order to inform the neighbourhood that they had need of affiftance. They did not fo much as know that Calvifius was near them, because they could not discover his fleet, which was hid by the

coaft.

In the midst of this fearful and distress'd multitude, Octavius preserved an undaunted courage. Deftitute himself of every thing, he was wholly occupied about his foldiers, going about and exhorting them to have patience till day-light; and very luckily a legion, which

was not far off, having perceived the fignals, A. R. 714. made haste to the places where they saw the Ant. C. 38. fires lighted, carrying with them fuch refreshments as were necessary, both for the general and for the troops. In the mean time Octavius was informed of Calvifius's arrival, which reftor'd his tranquillity, and allowed him to take fome reft.

The return of day-light, presented to them A tempest a difmal spectacle of vessels shattered to pieces, completes or damaged by the fire, and their cordage the ruin of floating on the surface of the waves. But this forces of was not all. A ftorm came to complete the Octavius. destruction of those who had escaped from the enemy. For all of a fudden there fprung up fuch a violent South-wind, that no art nor force was able to refift it. Sextus had conveyed his fleet into the port of Meana, but that of Octavius was driven against the rocks, upon coasts which afforded no kind of shelter; and to compleat their misfortunes they wanted a fufficient number of failors to manage their veffels, the greatest part having fled on shore after the fight.

The fleet of Calvisius did not suffer so much, because Menas, who was well acquainted with fea affairs, no fooner faw the tempest begin to arife, than he made towards the ocean, where the waves were not fo ftrong; and there having cast anchor, he order'd his whole crew to row violently against the direction of the wind, and thus he kept his station, gaining as much by his oars as he loft by the

wind.

On the contrary, the fleet which Octavius commanded in person, having kept near the shore, was prodigiously shattered. The vio-T 3 lence A. R. 714 lence of the wind and fea drove them from their anchors, broke their cordage, and the veffels driving against one another, or forced against the rocks, were almost all destroy'd, together with the greatest part of the men who were on board. This furious tempest lasted a whole day and a night, so that it had time enough to complete the difaster of Octavius.

He was so excessively grieved, that not being able to bear the fight of an accident which he could not possibly redress, he retired to Vibo, and from thence he diffributed his land forces, in all the maritime places, to protect them against the incursions which his enemy might attempt upon Italy, after fo great an ad-Sextus does vantage. But Sextus, more courageous in defending himfelf, than keen in attacking Octatavius, let flip this good opportunity; and by right use of an inexcusable negligence, he not only made

no attempt upon any of the towns on the coaft, but he even did not purfue the remains of the Triumvir's fleet, and left them to retreat quietly, and regain Vibo, towing along fuch thips as they hoped might be refitted for fervice.

Octavius to make new preparations.

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make a

this opportunity.

Octavius's loss was so great, that in spite of takes time Sextus's indolence, it required the space of two years to recruit his force and make new preparations. For bad fuccess never dispirited him, and he never loft fight of his delign to destroy the great enemy of his family. The murmurs of the people of Italy, who fuffered famine, were a motive for him not to abandon his scheme, but to make all possible dispatch to bring it speedily to a happy conclusion.

Writers

Writers have observed a great resemblance A.R. 714 of fortune between Octavius and Antony in Plut. Ant. this, viz. that both of them succeeded better in their military enterprizes by their lieutenants, than themselves. The war against the Parthians was an evident proof of it with regard to Antony; and as to Octavius, while he was defeated on the coast of Italy, both by the enemy and a tempest, his arms prospered in Gaul under Agrippa.

This man, sprung from a low family, but Agrippa, possessed of very great talents, and raised to an Gaul, re-illustrious rank by the favour of Octavius, to sus a tri-whom he had always been the most faithful umpb. friend from his youth, brought back to their duty the rebellious Gauls, and had the glory of being the second of the Romans after Cæsar, who passed the Rhine. Octavius sending for

who passed the Rhine. Octavius sending for him, named him Consul, and caused a triumph to be decreed. He accepted the Consulship, but with regard to the triumph, he did not think it was proper for him to make a shew of his victories, while his General was in trouble and unsuccessful; and being no less an able courtier than a great warrior, he refused an honour which would have rendered Octavius's mortification the more remarkable.

The five years of the Triumvirate now ex-Acontinupired. But those who, under that title, had ation of the usurped the tyrannical power, were by no Triumviri means disposed to lay it down, nor to restore years. liberty to their fellow-citizens. So far from Appian. this, they continued, without observing any Dio. formality, in the power they had usurped, and, without any authority from the people, they decreed to themselves a second Triumvirate,

Parendi sed uni, scientissimus. Vell. II. 79.

T 4

equal

A. R. 714 equal and exactly refembling the first, both for the extent of power and duration. Perhaps they thought themselves sufficiently authorized to do this by a decree of the Senate made two years before, which ratified and confirmed whatever they had done, or should do, during their magistracy.

> I have already faid that Agrippa had been defigned Conful by Octavius for the following year. And Canidius Gallus, one of Antony's

friends, was appointed his colleague.

A. R. 715. Ant. C. 37.

M. AGRIPPA. L. CANIDIUS GALLUS.

Sen, Con- The name of Agrippa's family was Vipfanus. trov. 11.12 But that name was fo obscure, that he suppress'd it after he arrived at his high fortune.

Agrippa charged with the preparations for war Vell. II. Suet. Aug. 16. Appian. D10.

EQUAL

Octavius had fent for him to charge him with the care of building a new fleet, and instructing the rowers and seamen. He acquitted himself of his double employment with all the againfi Sex- zeal and capacity imaginable, overlooking the carpenters, and prefiding in the exercises in which they instructed twenty thousand slaves, to whom Octavius had given the liberty to become rowers. Nor was this all; for as the coast of Italy had no harbour that was convenient for him, or capable of containing a great number of vessels, he contrived and executed that great defign of joining to one another, and with the sea, the lakes Lucrinus and Avernus, in order to make a vast bason, where the most numerous fleets might be received, and find fufficient shelter from winds and tempefts.

Arrive A. Val. 11. 79.

The lake of Lucrinus fituated between Mi- A. R. 715 sena and Puzzoli, was separated from the sea by The port of an old causeway, a mile in length, and of a Julius forfufficient breadth to allow a waggon to pass. med by the Agrippa repaired and raised this causeway, junction of which, being weakened in feveral places by Lucrinus length of time, was frequently overflowed, and Averand consequently impassable. He cut two nus. openings in it to allow a paffage for ships, and Supl. from the bottom of the lake Lucrinus, he drew CXXVIII. a canal to the lake Avernus, which last appears 29. to be that which properly formed the port, and afforded a secure retreat to vessels. In order Serv. ad to correct the bad quality of the air, which Virg. An. passed for infectious and pestilential, Agrippa III. 442. cut down the great forests which grew upon the borders of the lake Avernus, and covering it with a very thick shade, hindered the free circulation of the air. By this means, that place fo much decried, over which, if we believe the poets, the birds could not fly without feeling the effects of the poisonous exhalations which arose from the lake, and falling down dead, became a healthful, and even an agreeable station. Agrippa, always attentive to give to his chief and benefactor the glory of whatever he undertook, caused this new port to be called the Port of Julius, the name which Octavius had when he was adopted by Julius Cæfar. It was there that he affembled all the new veffels which had been built in the different ports of Italy, and exercised the twenty thousand rowers and failors above mentioned.

This royal work, as * Horace calls it, has

been

Terrâ Neptunus classes Aquilonibus arcet, Regis opus. Hor. A. P. v. 63.

Ant. C. 37.

to saile

A. R. 715 been likewife boafted of by Virgil. I faculd be very glad of exact and circumstantial historical descriptions, to enable me to give a more just, and full description of this port to my readers. But it does not feem to have been long in use. Strabo, who wrote under the emperor Tiberius, makes very little mention of it; and I do not fee that, in the hiftory of latter ages, it has been taken much notice of. The face of these places was entirely changed about two hundred years ago, in confequence of an earthquake, which happened in the year 1538, and turned the lake Lucrimus into a mountain of affect, furrounded entirely with a dirty morals, but the bus audited and belling

The whole year of Agrippa's Confolfhip paffed in making preparations of war against Sextus, who, during all this time, remained entirely quiet, without discovering any figns of life, or trying any means to diffurb those preparations which they were making for his ruin.

A pretended omen pened to Livia.

I must not omit here a pretended omen which about this time happened to Livia, the which hap- circumstances of which are very fingular; befides that, they are warranted by authors of approved credit. Pliny, Suetonius, and Dio, report that Livia, a little while after her marriage with Octavius, going to a country-house which fhe had in the territory of Veii, an eagle let fall upon her a white hen, which carried in her bill a branch of laurel with its leaves and berries. Livia, struck at this event, confulted the divines, and ordered, conformable to their an-

An memorem portus, Lucrinoque addità claustra? Atque indignatum magnis stridoribus æquor, Julia quâ ponto longè fonat unda refuso, Tyrrhenusque fretis immittitur æftus Avernis? Geor. II. 61. **fwer**

fwer, that the hen should be taken care of, and A. R. 715. the laurel planted and cultivated. Their care succeeded; the hen became so fruitful, that she filled the whole poultry-yard with her breed; and the house from thence was called the Hen-bouse. The laurel too slourished in such a manner, that it surnished branches for all the triumphs of the Cassars. Suctonius adds, that at the death of Nero, the last Emperor of the race of Augustus, all the sowls died, and the laurel withered. But in this last circumstance he is contradicted by Pliny, who speaks of the plants of this laurel as subsisting at the time when he wrote under the emperor Vespasian.

I see nothing impossible in all this, nor indeed very remarkable, except it is the credulous superstition of those, who put an ominous
construction on every thing out of the common road. They judged, that this presage
promised to Livia, and the house of the Cæsars
to which she was join'd, an extraordinary prosperity. But there was wanting in the completion of it the greatest mark of resemblance, I
mean her fruitfulness. For Livia had never a
child by Augustus, but one who died the moment it was born.

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Sextus Pompeius overcome, and Lepidus dispossessed by Augustus. The unfortunate expedition of Antony against the Parthians. The death of Sextus. Detached facts. Years of Rome 716-723.

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Ostavius demands the conjunction of Antony and Lepidus against Sextus. The forces of Lepidus. Antony comes into Italy as an enemy to Octavius. Their quarrel is suppressed by the treaty of Tarentum. Octavius renews the war against Sextus. The lustration of his fleet. Menas leaves bim, and returns to his old master. A form. The fleet of Octavius are very much Shattered. Lepidus lands in Sicily. The firmness of Octavius. The negligence of Sextus. Menas returns again to Ostavius. The advantage gain'd by Agritpa over the fleet of Sextus. The political circumspection of Agrippa. Octavius is defeated at sea by Sextus. He runs a very great risk bimself. The troops which he bad landed in Sicily, escape with great difficulty. The last battle where Sextus is vanquished without resource. He abandons Sicily, and flies into Asia. Ostavius corrupts the army of Lepidus, and dispossesses bim of the Triumvirate. A mutiny among the troops of Octavius. He quashes it by a conduct mixed with indulgence and firmness. A rostral crown given by Octavius to Agrippa.

Agrippa. Octavius remains master of Sicily, and the provinces of Africa and Numidia. The Epocha of the solid establishment of Octavius's grandeur, and at the same time of his new system of conduct, more gentle and moderate.

A FTER the Confulship of Agrippa was expired, those next appointed, were Cocceius Nerva, mediator of the treaty of Brundusium, and Gellius Poplicola, thought to be the brother of Messalla, who had formerly been in the party of Brutus and Cassius, had twice conspired against his generals, and owed his life to their clemency, and to the intreaties of his mother and brother.

L. GELLIUS POPLICOLA. M. Cocceius Nerva.

This Confulship is very remarkable in history, for the aggrandizement of Octavius, and the debasing of Antony. Octavius having at last overcome Sextus Pompeius, and afterwards forced Lepidus to abdicate the Triumvirship, became fole mafter of all the western parts of the Empire. Antony plunged again into his foolish amours with Cleopatra, undertook inconfiderately, and conducted with precipitation, an expedition against the Parthians, the bad fuccess of which covered him with ignominy. I shall begin with the first of these, which is immediately connected with the facts above related.

Octavius having fucceeded ill in his attack upon Sextus, and preparing to return to the charge, was very glad, in order to procure affistance, to make his quarrel against the last branch

A. R 716. Ant. C. 36. Octavius conjunction of Antony and Lepi-Sextus. Appian. Civil. l. v. Dio. l. 18. The forces of Lepidus.

branch of the house of the great Pompey, to be looked upon as interesting the whole party demandsthe of Cæfar. He dispatched then Mæcenas to Antony to demand his conjunction and affiftance, and he likewife fummoned Lepidus to dus against come with him, and finish the ruin of the opposite faction. He, whatever was his design, and doubtless more to take the advantage of the fpoils of Sextus, than to support his colleague, affembled great forces both by fea and land, viz. twelve legions, five thousand Numi-Vel. 11.80. dian horse, a thousand transports and seventy vessels of war. We see by this, that his power was very confiderable. Two great provinces, Africa properly fo called, and Numidia obeyed him; and to render himself master of them, would only have cost him the trouble of pre-

fenting himfelf.

For by looking a little backward, the reader will eafily call to mind, that Cornificius, at the time of the battle of Philippi, held Africa for the Senate and for the Republican party. Sextus, who possessed Numidia as lieutenant to Octavius, made war against Cornificius; and after various fuccess, at last vanguished and killed him. Thus feeing his authority established in the two provinces, perhaps had opened his heart to ambitious projects. However that be, he found a new adverfary in Fuficius Fango, a foldier of fortune, raised by Cæsar to the rank of Senator, and fent by Octavius to take possession in his name, of the governments of Africa, and of Numidia. Sextus opposed the name of Antony to that of Octavins; the war was renewed, and Fango, having been vanquished, killed himfelf, leaving Sextus once more governor of the two provinces. In this fituation of affairs, Lepidus

Lepidus arrived, to whom the district of Africa A. R. 716. had been given by his colleagues. It was proper then for Sextus to yield, and the Triumvir reaped the fruit of that brave captain's victories. He remained then retired, as it were, in his province, taking little share in the motions which disturbed the rest of the Empire, till, to his great misfortune, he resolved

to pals into Sicily.

Antony was at Athens, when he received Antony the deputation from Octavius, and prepared to comes into return to the East to push the war against the enemy to Parthians. He thought proper however, in Odavius. the first place, to make a voyage to Italy, and Plut. Ant, he went there with a fleet of three hundred Appian. vessels. But the authority of Plutarch and the fequel of the history, give us grounds to believe, that he came rather as an enemy to Octavius, than to give him any affiftance. Sufpicions, reports, and jealousies, had foured anew the spirits of these two rivals, who were always on their guard against each other. Antony Their quarhaving landed at Tarentum, because the peo-rel is supple of Brundusium would not receive him, Oc-pressed by tavia, who accompanied him, obtained his leave of Taren. to go and find her brother, that fhe might bring tum. about a reconciliation between them.

She made use of the most affecting intreaties to Octavius; and in the presence of Agrippa and Mæcenas, who were the most intimate counfellors to the young Triumvir, she conjured him not to suffer that from the most happy of all women she should become the most unfortunate. "Indeed, says she, all mankind have their eyes fixed upon me, and congratulate me for partaking of the grandeur and glory of two powerful generals, the spouse of one,

« and

A. R. 716. " and the fifter of the other. But if the worst Ant. C. 36. " resolution is taken, if you must go to war

" together, it is uncertain which of you will be vanquisher, or vanquished. As for me,

" my lot in either case is decided, and I must

" be unhappy."

So tender a speech was very capable of making an impression upon Octavius, who loved his fifter. However, I believe, that the motive which inclined both him and Antony effectually to peace, was doubtless that which Dio relates. They had not yet fufficient leisure for war, and their present interest required that they should mutually affift each other in carrying on those designs in which they were engaged. Octavius stood in need of veffels for the war against Sextus, and Antony wanted a reinforcement of foldiers for the war which he was going to make against the Parthians. Hence rose the pacific dispositions of the two Triumviri; and after they had taken a resolution to be reconciled, they executed it with the best grace in the world.

Octavius proposed to Antony a conference between Metapontum and Tarentum. Being always more diffident, his plan was to leave between him and his colleague a small river, which would afford him means of security, but would have embarrassed and prolonged the negotiation. Antony, who was of a free and unsuspicious character, when he came near the place, seeing Octavius approach, alighted from his chariot, and jumped into a little boat to pass over the river. Ocavius being struck with this free behaviour, did the same. They met in the river, and there was a struggle betwixt them on which side they should land. At

last

last Octavius carried it, on account of visiting A.R. 726. his fifter who was at Tarentum. He lodged there under the same roof with Antony, without guards, and putting himself entirely in his power. Antony, next day, did the same to Octavius. Thus 'these two men passed immediately from one extreme to another in their reciprocal conduct, sometimes suspicious, and even distrustful, on account of their ambition, and sometimes testifying an excessive considence in each other, as the particular situation of their affairs demanded.

They agreed very eafily between themselves and against Sextus. They determined that he should be deprived of the Consulship promised him by the treaty of Misenum, and in order to make war against him, Antony lent Octavius one hundred and twenty vessels, in lieu of which Octavius furnished Antony with twenty thousand legionary foldiers. Octavia, by whose interpolition the negotiation had been begun, wanted, after it was concluded, to confirm it effectually, by a further mutual liberality, which the obtained of each of the Triumviri, in favour of his colleague. According to her defire, there were added by her husband ten light ships of war, and by her brother a thoufand chofen men, who were to ferve as a guard to Antony In thort, they entered upon the tcheme of a double marriage; the one of Antyllus, the eldest fon of Antony, with Julia, the daughter of Octavius, who was not three years old; and the other of Antonia, the daughter of Antony and Octavia, who was also quite a child, with the fon of Domitius Ahenobarbus. This

[&]quot;Ουθως αυτοίς ην συνεχής η μεταδολή ωρός τε τας δικονδίας δια φιλαρχίαν, η ες τας ωίς εις ύπο χρείας. Αρρίαπ.

A. R. 716. last marriage took place, and began the alliance between the family of Domitius and Cæfar. But that of Antyllus proved abortive, as we shall see afterwards.

> These different articles having been agreed to, they took leave of each other. Antony returned to the East, leaving Octavia in Italy, under pretence of not exposing her to the fatigues and dangers of the war against the Parthians, but in fact, because he began to be weary of fo virtuous a woman, and his heart still wander'd after Cleopatra. Octavius being recruited with new maritime forces, apply'd himself entirely to the war against Sextus.

Octavius His hopes were raifed very high. Besides that renews the his fleets were very numerous, he had great tus. The lustration

confidence in the veffels of a new construction, gainst Sex- which by their force, strength, and a kind of towers which were built upon them, feemed of the fleet. to give him full affurance of victory. He made a very pompous lustration of the fleet, of which ceremony Appian here gives a defcription. They raifed altars precifely upon the borders of the fea, opposite to which were drawn up the veffels well manned with the foldiers and failors, who all observed a profound filence. The priefts, after having flain the victims, took the intrails, and going on board little skiffs, they made three tours round the fleet, accompanied with the principal commanders, who prayed the gods to let fall upon these victims all the mistortunes which the fleet might be threatened with. Afterwards, the priests threw a part of the intrails into the fea, and the other part they burnt upon the altars.

While Octavius was still making prepara- A. R. 716. tions for his expedition, Menas left him to re- Menas turn to his old mafter. He was doubtless a leaves bim, brave and able officer, but his fickleness, and and returns oddness of character made the loss of him master. fcarcely to be regretted. A more troublesome incident soon followed to render abortive a

plan otherwise very wisely concerted.

Sicily feemed to be threatened with being Aftorm. oppressed by three armies, which were preparing The fleet of Officerous Officerous Officerous to pour in upon her from three different quar-is very ters all at once, one from Africa, another from much shat-Tarentum, and the third from the coast of Cam- tered. Lepania. Lepidus had affembled in Africa the pedus lands forces I have before mentioned; Statilius Tau-in Sicily. rus approached the port of Tarentum, with the veffels lent to Octavius by Antony; and Octavius himself was at the head of his fleet in the port of Julius. On the first of July, a day which he chose as fortunate on account of his adoptive father's name, which this month was called by, these three armies set out by agreement. But a tempest like that which had ruined the first enterprize, returned to disturb this new well laid scheme, and rendered useless, at least for a time, these formidable preparations. Lepidus alone, though he was shattered with the storm, nevertheless landed in Sicily, on the coast of Lilybæum. Taurus was obliged to carry his fleet back to Tarentum; and that of Octavius, which had no commodious retreat, was extremely haraffed, not only by the tempest, but by the perfidious Menas, who carried away and burnt feveral of the veffels which had been separated by the Medoli is ser beto U 2 1 bil alla wallen After

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GELLIUS and Cocceius, Confuls.

292 A. R. 716. Ant. C. 36. The firmtavius. Suet. Aug. 16.

After fuch a disaster, a great many counfelled Octavius to put off the expedition till ness of Oc- next year. But his courage, which was rendered more fierce by obstacles, transported him to fay, that he would vanquish, even in spite of Neptune. The murmurs of the people, who fuffered at this time by famine, spurred him on. Thus, having fent Mæcenas to Rome, to keep the people in awe with his presence; and to prevent infurrections, he made them work with fuch diligence in refitting the shattered veffels, and repairing the loss which he had fuffered, that at the end of thirty days he found himself in a condition to renew the war.

The negligence of Sextus.

Sextus, according to his ordinary custom, so remarkably favoured by the winds and tempests, contented himself with triumphing in the advantages which his good fortune had procured him, instead of making a proper use of them; and believing himself more authorized than ever, to call himself the son of Neptune, he even went fo far as to wear his colours, and changed the purple, which the Roman generals used, for a sea-green. He offered to that god folemn facrifices, and to honour him, threw horses, and some say living men, into the fea.

Menas reto Octavius .

Thus, while he gave himself up to joy, turns again imagining himself out of all danger for that year, he was greatly furprifed to hear that the indefatigable enemy meditated another invalion directly. In order that he might be the more certain of the truth of this intelligence, he detached Menas to observe what passed on the coast of Italy. He who was never pleased with those whom he served, and never thought that

that they treated him according to his merit, A. R. 716. added a third treachery to the preceding, and Ant. C. 36. went over again to Octavius. The Triumvir granted him his life, but was too wife to give any employment to a man whose perfidy rendered him unworthy of the least confidence.

Every thing being ready to invade Sicily anew, Octavius made Taurus's fleet, and his own, commanded by Agrippa, fail at the fame time towards it. I shall not enter upon a detail of the operations of this war, of which we have very long, but indiffinet accounts; I shall Appian. only mention the fubitance of the facts, which Dio. shews, that the' Octavius gave proofs of his activity and courage, by expofing himfelf every where, and to the greatest dangers, yet the victory was chiefly owing to the good conduct of Agrippa.

This great captain, who had fuccess both by The advanfea and land, began to give a turn to Octavius's tage gain'd affairs, by the advantage he gained in a fea-fight by Agrippa near Myle, now called Milazzo. Sextus's men feet of Sexhad the superiority in their experience in work-tur. ing the ships, and the agility of their motions. But the vessels of Agrippa, which were stronger built, higher in the fide, and filled with excellent troops, got the better at last, after a very long refiftance, of all the skill of the enemy, who could only deftroy five of Octavius's ships, and returned with the loss of thirty of their

Perhaps Agrippa would have rendered this The politivictory decisive, if he had pursued the van-cal circumquished. But he was cautious, either for fear spection of of moals to very dangerous to veffels, espe-Agrippa. cially in the night-time; or elfe it was owing to a political reason. For it was one of his

maxims

Ant. C. 36.

A, R. 716 maxims, that fubalterns ought to take care not to provoke, by too great success, the jealousy of their masters; who doubtless, do not chuse that they should do any thing to disgrace them, but at the same time take umbrage at the too great splendour of their prosperity. So that if, on the one hand, they ought to be careful to prevent bad fuccess, on the other, they ought to referve the honour of great victories for the Chief whom they serve under.

Sea by Sex-

Before the fight of Myle, Sextus, who foredefeated at faw it, had left Messina, his place of arms, with feventy veffels, to go and affift his lieutenants, whereby the passage of the Streights was left open and unguarded. Octavius laid hold on this opportunity to enter into Sicily; and fetting out immediately at the head of Antony's fleet, which waited only for the fignal, he landed with three legions near * Tauromenium. Sextus's fleet had been beat, but not destroy'd, at Myle, and he made all the hafte he could to bring it back to Messina. Thus at the first news of the descent of Octavius, he found himself in a condition to march to him. He then put his veffels to fea, landed his legions, and disposing himself to attack the enemy both by sea and land at the fame time, he threw him into a very great disorder.

Taormina.

> Octavius refolved to leave his land forces under the command of L. Cornificius, to whom he gave orders to fortify a camp; and as for himself going on board the fleet again, he offered battle to that of Sextus, which he thought to have cheap, because it had been defeated. His plan doubtless was, after he had dispersed the enemy's fleet, to go to + Leucopetra, in

Capo dell' armi. order to take up the legions which waited there, mixim

there, commanded by Messala, and to carry A. R. 716. them to Sicily to join those of Cornificius. But his hopes in that affair were greatly disappointed. Sextus had found at Messina, both foldiers and failors, ready to replace those whom he had loft. His fleet, thus recruited, gained a complete victory. The vessels of Octavius were either taken, burnt, or funk, except a very small number, which not being purfued by Sextus, fled into Italy. Octavius He runs a himself run a very great risk, and it was with very great the greatest difficulty that he faved himself in risk bima boat with a fingle domestic, without any felf. either of his friends or guards, extremely troubled, and ill at the same time. However he arrived at last at Messala's camp; where his first care was to dispatch to Cornificius a light vessel, to inform him that his general was safe, and preparing to fend him fuccours. Accordingly he wrote to Agrippa, to affift Cornificius with a speedy reinforcement. Agrippa, taking the advantage of the distance of Sextus's forces, had taken possession of the city of Tindarium, from whence he fent Laronius at the head of three legions, to make all possible difpatch to deliver Cornificius from so pressing a danger.

In short, Cornificius wanted provisions, and The troops consequently all the bravery of his troops, and which he the advantage of a well fortified camp, were had landed in Sicily thereby rendered absolutely useless. He was escape with obliged to decamp in sight of the enemy, and great different his army over a corner of Sicily, viz. ficulty. from Tauromenium, on the Ionian sea, as far as Myle, on the sea of Tuscany. It may easily be conceived what difficulties he must meet with, constantly sollowed and harass'd by Sex-

U 4

A. R. 716 tus, and having under his care, not only the baggage but also a number of unarmed soldiers, the unfortunate remains of the last naval engagement, who, naked and destitute of every thing, had found a safe refuge in his camp.

This army in their rout met with a very fingular obstacle, peculiar to the country thro which they march'd This was a kind of earth fcorched with the ftreams of fire which had run down from mount Ætna, and extended to the sea. This burnt earth, when it was shaken, by the motion of those who marched over it, railed a suffecating dust; nay, it even burnt the foals of their feet, and kindled an intollerable thirst in their veins. The foldiers were fatigued, overcome, and discouraged. Their chief revived them by his exhortations, and the example of firmnels which he shewed them; so that in spite of being extremely exhaulted, and of the enemy who lined the defile where this burning plain terminated, they ftill puffed on, without allowing themselves to be broke. At last after four days march, the most fatiguing that can be imagined, they discovered Laronius, whose arrival put an end to all their troubles. For Sextus taking the detachment, which he faw coming up, for Agrippa's whole army, thought proper to retire.

Thus delivered from the fear of the enemy, the foldiers of Cornilicius met with a new danger, in what ought to have given them the greatest relief. As they had greatly suffered from thirst, they no sooner perceived a fountain than they ran to drink greedily, contrary to the repeated advice of their officers, who recommended it strongly to their not to drink

gorged with the quantity of water which they Aut C. 36. (wallowed down too haltily.

As to the rest, these legions might be looked upon as victorious, not only over the efforts of Sextus, but whatever is superior to human strength, to hunger, thirst, and borning heat. Octavius loaded them with praises and rewards, as soon as he came to join Agrippa at Tyndarium; and Corniscius, their commander, was so proud of having faved them, that he perpetuated rejoicings for it during his whole life, making use of an Elephant in returning home, every time that he supped in the city.

The taking of Tyndarium by Agrippa was The last an important conquest for Octavius, to whom battle, it secured an entrance into Sicily. This port subset being open to him, he landed in that island a vanquished great number of troops, and augmented his without land army, by adding to it one and twenty resource. legions, twenty thousand horse, and five thousand light-armed troops. Then Lepidus, who had till that time kept near Lilybæum, advanced into the country; and the two Triumviri united their forces before the walls of Messina.

There a division very soon arose between them. Lepidus pretending to an equality with Octavius, and the other full of contempt for a colleague of so little merit, wanted to reduce him to the condition of his seutement. The indignation which Lepidus conceived at such injurious treatment, made him incline towards Sextus, and enter into a negotiation with him. Octavius either suspected this, or essentially and this motive determined him to finish the war before their treaty should

A. R. 716. should be concluded. If it had not been for this, Apt. C. 36 his interest would have led him to have avoided an action. For he faw himself in a condition to overcome without fighting, confidering the great superiority of his forces, and the ease by which he would deprive his enemy of provisions, being mafter of the country. Sextus on his part, whose affairs were declining, and who feared, in confequence of that, the desertion both of his officers and troops, was anxious to decide the quarrel by a battle. But it was much more convenient for him to fight by fea, than by land. In the first case, he had fome hopes of overcoming, whereas his legions could not possibly stand it against Octayius. He therefore proposed a naval engagement to Octavius, who was ashamed to refuse the challenge. The day was fet, and the two fleets of three hundred veffels each, commanded by the lieutenants of the two generals, Agrippa on the one fide, and on the other Demochares and Apollophanes, a freedman of Sextus, ranged themselves in good order between Myle and Naulochus; while the legions, headed by the generals themselves, were

The action was very brisk, and the victory a long while doubtful. At last the fleet of Octavius had the better, which was in a great Rom. Hist. measure owing to the grapples, which spoke of on occasion of the first naval victory of the Romans. Agrippa had perfected this machine, by means of a great cable fasten'd at one end to a piece of wood, from which the grapple depended, and at the other to the windless or capstan, which began to play as

drawn up upon the coast, as spectators of the

combat.

bimodi

V. IV.

foon

foon as the enemy's vessel was hooked, and A.R. 716. pulled it with very great violence, fo that it was very easy to board her, and then the valour of the foldiers wholly decided the fuccefs, which by that means was determined in favour of Octavius been do dw notioned s ni

After a certain number of Sextus's veffels had been thus boarded, fear and disorder spread through all the rest of the sleet, and gave it up as a prey to the enemy. Twentyeight vessels were funk to the bottom, and the rest either burnt, shatter'd against the coast, or taken by the conquerors. Of three hundred of them, there were only feventeen faved, which gained the Streights of Messina; and this great victory cost Octavius no more than the lofs of three veffels.

This victory was decisive. Sextus, being He abanentirely deprived of that part of his forces, in dons Sicily, which he always placed his chief confidence, into Afia. thought of nothing but flying; and embarking at Naulochus, he rowed to Meffina. His land army, left to the care of a lieutenant, follow'd their fortunes and submitted to Octavius. Sextus had still eight legions on the coast of Lilybæum, under the command of Plennius. These he order'd to come to him, not with a defign to support the war, but that they might accompany him in his flight.

For before the battle his plan was all concerted, and he had put up in bales all that was valuable belonging to him, in order to retire to the provinces of the East, where he hoped to find protection from Antony. He had formerly given shelter to Julia, the mother of that Triumvir, and he promised himself an acknowledgment in return. Indeed Antony

place,

had

A. R. 716. had always shewn himself very gentle, and complying with regard to Sextus, and the jealoufy which he must have at the aggrandizement of Octavius, was a motive of hope for Sextus, especially if he could arrive in the East in a condition which render'd him above contempt, and might even be looked upon as an useful ally. But he had not time to wait for the legions of Plennius, being frightened at the almost total revolt of his officers and troops over all Sicily, and feeing himfelf too brilkly purfued by Agrippa, who had already enter'd the Streights, he left Messina with the seventeen veffels, which were faved from the engagement, taking with him his daughter, his friends which remained, and his principal riches. We shall see afterwards what became of him, and how his reftlefs and ungovernable ambition at laft occasion'd his death.

pidus, and dispossesses bim of the triumvir-Ship.

Octavius having driven Sextus out of Sicily, corrupts the was nevertheless not entirely maker of it. army of Le- Delivered from one enemy, he found a new one in the person of his colleague. It is true that Lepidus had contributed to the victory, by keeping a part of Sextus's forces employed, and confequently he had a good right to pretend to there the fruits of it. But neither of them could agree about the manner of sharing them. Each was willing to have the whole, and between fuch affociates, equal both for avarice and injustice, force was the only way of deciding it. aluable belonging to the

Lepidus discovered all aronce his intentions, by his conduct at the flege of Mcffina, which immediately followed the victory of Octavius. For Plennius, who arrived too late to depart with Sextus, having that himfelf up in that place,

place, was immediately belieged both by sea A. R. 716. and land. Lepidus on one side, and Agrippa on the other, deprived him of all resource; so that he was obliged to capitulate. Agrippa was desirous of waiting for the arrival of Octavius, who remained at Naulochus; but Lepidus, of his own authority, treated with Plennius, received into his service the legions he commanded, and having joined them to his own, he gave up Messina to be plunder'd by both.

Octavius came up next morning, fully refolved to make good his right, as being the only true conqueror. Lepidus, who, by the increase of his forces in Sicily, had now about twenty two legions, thought himself in a condirion to make head against Octavius, and fortified for himself a camp on a rising ground, at a little distance from Messina. There they expostulated reciprocally with each other, which only ferved to four their spirits, and demonstrate the impossibility of an agreement. Lepidus infifted that Sicily ought to belong to him, because he had entered it first, and the greatest number of the towns had been reduced by his arms. He observed besides, which was very true, that even Sicily added to his share, would not make it equal to either of his colleagues. These reasons, as you may easily believe, had no effect upon Octavius, who did not pretend that he had vanguished for Lepidus, and only regarding him as an auxiliary, absolutely resused to allow him any share in the conquest. Their division then became without disguise; the two chiefs prepared to act against each other, and a fresh civil war was expected to break out.

But

A. R. 716. But the inequality was too great between Ant. C. 36. the merit and talents of the two Triumviri, for the balance to remain a moment uncertain. Lepidus was despised, even by those who marched under his colours. His want of capacity, and narrowness of genius, appear'd still more conspicuous, when compared with the ambition, firmness, and courage of his rival. Thus they did not come to blows, Octavius disdaining to employ force against such an adverfary. Cunning and artifice, which he fo well knew how to manage, ruined his adver-

fary's power all at once.

He was perfectly acquainted with the difposition of Lepidus's army, with regard to their general, and particularly that the legions of Sextus, which made a confiderable part of this army, were not fatisfied with their fituation, while they had no fecurity for what had been granted by the capitulation of Messina, except the word of the weakest of the two Triumviri, without being affured of the confent of the other. Having then founded their officers by means of emiffaries, and found them in the same sentiments as he wished, he took with him a large body of cavalry, advanced towards the camp of Lepidus, and having left without it the greatest part of his escort, he entered, accompanied with a small number of horse, as if he had only pacific intentions, and no other view than that of negotiating an agreement. In traversing the camp, he took all those he met to witness of his good dispositions of peace, and the necesfity he was reduced to in spite of himself to make war. This stratagem of his succeeded at once. A great many of them faluted him as their

their general, and especially the soldiers who A. R. 716. had ferved under Sextus, ran to him to afk Ant. C. 36. him pardon; but he answered, they had yet done nothing to deserve it. This language they understood very well, and immediately manifested their inclination to go over to him, by bringing away their colours, and ftriking their tents to follow him.

Lepidus being informed of this motion, came immediately to check it, and, finding his enemy ill attended, made his foldiers draw upon him. Octavius's shield-bearer was killed by his fide, and he himself being wounded with an arrow, which his breaft-plate rebuffed and hinder'd to penetrate, he * retired as quick as he could to the cavalry, which he had left at the entry of the camp. Some of Lepidus's foldiers, who occupied a small fort, made a jest of his flight, which he immediately revenged by making his men attack it, who never left it till they had carried it by force. This example intimidated the commanders of the other forts which flanked the camp of Lepidus, or at least served them for a pretence, and all of them at that time, or during the night, furrender'd to Octavius, some of them at a fimple fummons, and others after having suffered a slight attack for form

Zin L

in the character of Octavius. pian attributes to bim. Ishall therefore confine myfelf to this

knowing

^{*} Velleius Says, that Octawins carried off with bim the than that conduct which Apfandard of a legion, and made the whole army of Lepidus follow him. This instance of last author, whose account is daringness appears to me less besides more circumstantial.

A. R. 716. Next day Octavius went out of the lines of ant C. 36. battle with his whole army, without doubt knowing very well what would happen; for at his approach, the defertion became general among the troops of Lepidus. At first the old foldiers of Sextus, and afterwards all the reft filed off, and came to range themselves under the colours of the young Triumvir. They were all fo determined in their resolution, that Lepidus offering to lay hold of the colours to stop the defertion, and declaring that he would never part with them as long as he lived, a foldier was infolent enough to answer him, Very well, you will part with them then toben you die; and was going to stab him, if the unfortunate general had not quitted his hold.

The cavalry, which remained last with Lepidus, as if they wanted to excuse their delay by a greater piece of treachery, fent to alk Octavius, if they should bring him his enemy dead or alive. Lepidus was not a rival formidable enough for Octavius to defire his death. He ordered them to spare him; and foon after Lepidus, having laid alide all the ornaments which were no longer agreeable to his fortune, presented himself before him humble and suppliant, and asking him to space him. Octavius granted him his life, and having despoil'd him of the triumvirship, he banished him to Cerceii in Italy, where he allowed him to pass the remainder of his days in a private and obscure condition. Only he refpected the law which rendered the high-prieftship perpetual, and he suffered him to enjoy that facred dignity as long as he lived.

This last condition agreed better with Le- A. R. 716. pidus, than that grandeur to which the fortuitous concourse of circumstances had raifed him, without having any of the qualities necessary to support the weight of it. In that flation he had only been the jeft of his colleagues; and when he was deprived of it, if he did not lose his life at the same time, the contempt of his weakness was alone his ving augmented hydriosi

Octavius having now no more enemy nor competitor in Sicily, ruled every thing according to his own mind. He still followed his own maxim here, to cut off the heads of the vanquified party, and only to grant pardon to the multitude. The Senators and Roman knights who had fought for Sextus, were all put to death, excepting a very few. The troops he took into his fervice, and as to the towns and people of the island, they were punished, or rewarded, according as they had deferved well, or ill, of him. He gave himself no trouble in purfying Sextus, from whom he had nothing to fear, and who besides was got out of his reach, having retired into the territories which were under the obedience of Antony. Nay, perhaps Octavius, who was a profound politician, was not displeased that his colleague should grant a retreat and protection to the antient enemy of all Cæfar's party, which might presently furnish a pretence for a rupsure with kim. For it is not to be doubted. but from the moment he faw himfelf left alone

"Vir omnibm vanistimus, tus. - Ad diffinillimam vita net dila virente tam longam fine fortunam parvenerat Le-

fortunge indulgentiam meri- pidus. Vell. IL 86.

dulgenin

and him

GELLIUS and Cocceius, Consuls. 396

A. R. 716. with Antony, of all the generals who had Ant. C. 36. Chared the torces and provinces of the Reshared the forces and provinces of the Republick, after the death of Cæsar, he prepared to destroy that only rival, whose ruin must render him mafter of the whole empire.

A mutiny among the troops of Octavius.

But these views were still at a considerable distance. A present misfortune, and which even fprung from the greatness of his power, put him into great disorder, and engaged his whole attention. Having augmented his forces with those of Sextus and Lepidus, he saw under his command, formidable armies both of fea and land forces; forty five legions, twenty-five thousand horse, different corps of light troops, to the number of thirty-feven thousand, together with three hundred veffels of war. This frightful number of foldiers was affembled in a fmall compass, and he could see at one glimple of his eye his whole force. A dangerous fituation for a chief, of whom the foldiers disdained to receive his orders, when he was ready to give them out. A fierce army fo very numerous becomes impossible to be difciplined, and will not floop to defire by entreaties, what they can obtain by terror. was precifely the fituation of Octavius. The troops which had render'd him so great services mutinied, demanded their discharge, and the same rewards as those conferred on his victorious foldiers at Philippi. The infolence of the mutineers was fo much the greater, as they foresaw the war against Antony inevitable, He quashes and were sensible of the need their general would have of them.

it by a conduct mixed with indulgence and firmnefs.

It was neither possible to fatisfy them, nor to fubdue them by authority. Octavius try'd to make them change their minds, either by referring

ferring them to Antony, whose consent he A. R. 116. alledged was necessary in an affair of that im- Ant, C. 36. portance, and which interested in common the foldiers of both Triumviri; or by exciting the feditious to acquire a rich spoil, and a glory pure and free from all flain, by a war against foreigners, the Illyrians and Dalmatians, who taking advantages of the divisions among the Romans, made inroads upon the empire; or in fine, by proposing to them rewards of honour, crowns of different kinds, and to the Tribunes and Centurions the right of wearing the Pretexta, and the rank of Senators in the towns where they were born. But all thefe fine fpeeches had no effect; the foldiers never loft fight of the object of their wishes: and a Tribune, named Ofilius, had the boldness to raise his voice, and to fay, that crowns and pretexta were fit to amuse children, but for foldiers there must be money and lands to fettle them. What he faid was applauded, and Octavius, in a passion, saw nothing better to be done than to descend from his Tribunal and retire from the affembly. Ofilius became the more bold upon this, and as others who follow'd his impressions, taxed their companions, who were more moderate, with indifference for the common cause, he cried out that he had no need of affiftance, he alone being sufficient to obtain the execution of such just demands. This insolence of his did not remain unpunished. The feditious Tribune prefently vanished, without any person being able to discover what was become of him. This example, which gave every one to understand what he had to fear, render'd the mutineers more circumspect, but not more tractable. X 2 difference.

A. R. 746. There was none after this that fingly exposed themselves, but all together, or in considerable bodies, they persisted in demanding their dis-

charge.

Octavius had not that heroick elevation of fentiment, by which his great uncle was capable with one word to reduce his mutinous legions to their duty. Befides he was but young, and possessed no extraordinary degree of warlike merit, a quality which imposes the most upon troops. He was sensible, however, of the neceffity of a firm behaviour, and that at once, if he should shew himself too mild, he must lofe his authority for ever. He took therefore a method between the two extremes, agreeable to his character, which was more prudent and artful, than noble and elevated. He granted a discharge to twenty thousand of the oldest foldiers, whom he obliged immediately to depart the illand, for fear they should nourish a fpirit of fedition among the reft.

Afterward, having affembled the army, which was still very numerous, he protested that he would never take back to his fervice, were they even to befeech him, in the most pressing manner, those who had left him against his will; and that further, he would not give to all of them the rewards which they flattered themfelves with, but only to those who should be judged worthy of them, after a fevere examination of their conduct. He then began to praise the fidelity of the troops, which still remained with him; promifed them, that in a little time he would grant them both the repose and settlements, which they had merited by their good fervice; and in pledge of this promife, the execution of which was at fome distance.

diffance, he ordered an immediate distribution A. R. 716. of * five hundred Denarii a head, in order to . Ten which, he imposed upon Sicily a tax of fix poundseight teen hundred talents (three hundred thouland fillings pounds). By means of this conduct, mixed and four with indulgence and firmness, Octavius ap-pence. pealed the mutiny, which might have rendered the victories he had obtained fatal to him.

When all was quieted, he distributed mili- A restrat cary gifts to the foldiers and officers, who had crown diffinguished themselves by their bravery. Octavias There was none more honour'd, or who defer- to Agrippa, ved it better, than Agrippa. He received for a reward, and as a monument of the naval victory which he had so great a share in, a a crown of gold, which had for its rays the prows of vessels. A great many authors affirm, that he was the first who had this glorious mark of honour bestewed upon him. But I have already related, from Pliny's authority, that the learned Varro had been honour'd with it before, in the war against the pyrates. However, it is not very furprifing that the name of Agrippa should obscure that of Varro, in the glory of arms.

Octavius before he departed from Sicily, Odavius established a Pro-prætor to govern the island remains in his name. He also seized the spoil of Lepi- master of Sicily, and dus; and Statilius Taurus went by his orders, the prowith some troops, to take possession for him vinces of of Africa, properly to called, and Numidia, Africa and both which had belonged to the dispossessed Numidia. Triumviri. With regard to Antony's veffels,

Tempora navali fulgent roftrata corona.

Virg. En. VIII.

Ant, C. 36.

ACCUSTOMORA

A.R. 716 he fent them back faithfully, and even took care to replace those which had been lost in the operations of the war. After he had finished those dispositions, he set out, and returned to Italy with all his forces.

of Octavius's grandeur. Stem of conduct, and moderate.

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THE STATE OF

The epocha This, properly speaking, is the epocha when Octavius's grandeur began to be established on a folid foundation. For till now, his affairs had and at the always been wavering, and he was always fursame time rounded and pushed at by enemies and rivals. of his new But now the whole West submitted to his command, and at the fame time the publick more gentle esteem and admiration were determined in his favour. They could not refuse those sentiments to fuch glorious fuccess, especially confidering he was fo very young. Four wars brought to a happy conclusion, at Modena, Philippi, Perusia, and in Sicily; the total destruction of the Republican party and that of Ponipey; the power of Sextus, and that of Lepidus united to his own; and all this executed at the age of twenty-eight: these were powerful motives to inspire a veneration for him, which being once established, encreased ever afterwards, and was none of the least foundations of his power.

They gave him the first testimony of it on his return from the expedition into Sicily. The Senate went a great way out of Rome in a body to meet him, each Senator wearing a crown upon his head, as a fign of joy and congratulation. They had before decreed to him the greatest honours, leaving it to himself, either to accept of them all, or to chuse fuch as should be most agreeable to him. He accepted of the ovation, or little triumph, the establishment of an annual feast in honour

of his victory, and a gilded statue set up in A. R. 716. the Forum, where he is represented in a triumphal habit, the pedestal adorned with prows of vessels, with this inscription: For having restored Peace a long time disturbed both by Sea and Land. He entered Rome Fasti with the modest pomp of the ovation the Capit.

day of the ides of November.

These exploits, considered in themselves, certainly deserved the great triumph; and I can fee no reason that should have hindered him to take it, except it was the meanners of the enemies he had vanquished. For it must be observed, that the name of Sextus ought not to appear here. It would have exasperated the Romans, and made them hate him too much, to fee him triumph nominally over the fon of Pompey. But after Sextus was defeated, almost all those who had followed him were either fugitive flaves, or pyrates, commanded by freedmen. It was then in some measure a war against slaves, for which the glory of a triumph would have been too magnificent, and a victory over which was fufficiently recompenced by an ovation.

Octavius contented himself with it, and added several other instances of moderation and gentleness, by which he discover'd plainly, that he wanted to make amends for the tyrannical proceedings and cruelties, which at first had brought upon him the hatred and detestation of the publick. In the speeches which he made both to the Senate and people, after having testified his acknowledgment for the honours decreed to him, he promised peace and tranquillity in Italy as the fruit of his victory, which, he said, had now put an end

A. R. 716 to all civil wars. For he industriously con-Ant. C. 36 cealed his designs against Antony, which it Suet. Aug. was not time yet to discover. He did not 84 repeat those speeches, but read them; a

repeat those speeches, but read them; a method which he observed upon all important occasions; and he distributed copies of them over the city, to make all the citizens as it were witnesses, and depositaries of the engagements he had contracted, and which he also suffilled. He abolished some duties, and remitted all that was due of the taxes establish-

ed during the war.

The people, who for a long time had fuffered the horrors of a civil war, charmed with beginning to breathe again, and willing to recompence him to whom they were obliged for the agreeableness of their new situation, offered him the high-priestship, with which Lepidus was invested. Octavius still supported the character of moderation, which he bound himfelf to as a law; and refused that office, tho' very important and illustrious, but of which the incumbent was not to be deprived of, as long as he lived. Some went even fo far, as to propose to him the strange expedient of destroying Lepidus, as an enemy to the publick; but he rejected this with horror, declaring that he would never open the way to usurpation by murder.

He further gained the affection of the citizens by the conduct which he observed with regard to the great number of slaves which Sextus had drawn into Sicily, and incorporated with his troops, by giving them their liberty. Tho this liberty had been confirmed by the treaty of Misenum. Octavius did not think himself obliged to observe it, with regard to those wretches.

wretches, to the prejudice of their masters and A.R. 716. Aut. C. 36. Aut. C.

Another object very worthy of his attention, were the companies of robbers, which had formed themselves under favour of the licence and consustion of the war. They formed, in a manner, small armies, which might be said rather to commit hostilities, than simple robberies, both in Rome, Italy, and Sicily. Sabinus, charged by Octavius with the care of putting a stop to those terrible robberies, destroyed the whole race of those wretches in the space of one year. Peace and safety were again established upon the highways, and in the towns; and the people were so sensible of it, that they consecrated the author of it amongst their titular gods.

Octavius appear'd then entirely employed in the good of the publick, and wholly posses'd with pacific schemes. He burnt those letters and papers which might be monuments of past divisions, and kept a great many of the citizens in disquietude. He left the annual magistrates to exercise their function, and regulate those affairs which belonged properly to their offices. In fine, he went so far as to

make

A. R. 716. make people hope, that he would abdicate the Ant. C. 36. triumvirship in concert with Antony, as soon as he should return from the war against the Parthians. This last promise was only a feint, but it gave great joy to the nation, which was always attached to a Republican government. The Senate, in order to engage Octavius to keep his word, and give him, as it were, a compensation in exchange for the triumvirship, offer'd to make him perpetual Tribune as long as he lived. By this title, his person would be rendered facred and inviolable; and he would acquire the power of hindering any thing to be done in the city against his will. But he had no mind to renounce the command of the army, which constituted all his force. Thus he kept himself reserved with regard to the proposition of the Senate, neither judging it proper to accept the tribuneship, which would have disarmed him, nor to join it to the triumvirship, for fear of provoking Antony's jealoufy. Nevertheless it did not appear that he had absolutely refused it, but put it off till a more convenient time.

In order that Rome might be sensible in every respect of the return of better fortune, it was likewise in this same year, that Octavius began to embellish it with new and losty buildings. One of the great objects in the whole remainder of his life and reign, was to adorn the capital of the universe, in a manner worthy of the dignity of that title; and in this he pushed his magnificence so far, that he boasted

ugake

[&]quot;Urbem—excoluit adeo, lateritiam accepisset. Sues, ut jure sit gloriatus marmo- Aug. 29, ream se relinquere, quam

he had received a Rome of brick and had A. R. 714. left it all of marble. But at the time in which I speak, the first work with which he began the execution of his scheme, was an apartment for himself. He had chose for a situation Vell. II. the mount Palatine, and caused his managers 81. to purchase several houses of private persons, which formed a piece of ground of no great extent. He there built a house of a moderate Suet Aug. fize, which took its name from the hill, up- 19. & 72. on which it stood, and was called Palatium, from whence is derived the word Palace in our language. But he would not be reproached with labouring only for himfelf. Upon occasion of a thunder which had burst on a fpot of ground which he had purchased, the divines were confulted, and having answered that, that place was claimed by a God, Octavius built there a temple of the finest marble to Apollo, whom he always honoured as his titulary God. He joined to it a library, which was extremely proper in the temple of the God of arts; and all about he raised portico's for the use and convenience of the publick.

The library of Palatine Apollo, as this was Hor. Sat. called, was not only appointed to contain a I. 4. & 10. collection of books, which did honour to the Epist. I. 2. taste of its master, and was an affistance to men A. P. v. of learning; Octavius made also a kind of 387. academy of it, where there were judges to examine the new works of poetry, and those which truly deserved to be transmitted to posterity, were honourably placed in the library, with a protrait of the author. A very powerful encouragement for the arts, which glory especially nourishes and carries to perfection.

Octavius loved them, as great princes have

always

A.R. 716. always done. He cultivated them himself, ant. C. 36 and those who diffinguished themselves in them, were sure of his protection. Thus it is very well known how much they flourished under his government, which became the epo-

cha and standard of good taste. In Jayom and

There is no need of mentioning, that all these great works were not compleated the same year, whose transactions I am now mentioning, but that they were projected and begun at that time; and it is of some importance to remark the date of them, because they entered into the new system of conduct which Octavius formed to himself, after he saw his power sufficiently established. Till that time he was unjust and cruel, which the satisfying his ambition forced him to, but afterwards gentle, moderate, and beneficent, as soon as he had reason to be contented with his fortune.

This character of gentleness appeared farther in the distribution of lands, which he had to make to the veteran foldiers. You may remember what a terrible disorder that affair had occasioned after the battle of Philippi, over all Italy; but now it was executed in a peaceable manner. The funds which were defigned for the foldiers, either belonged to the Republick, or were faithfully purchased and paid for, whether they belonged to private persons, or to corporations. Thus, for example, the colony of Capua being very thinly inhabited, possessed in common a great extent of ground, which never belonged to any particular proprietor. Octavius there established his veterans. But in order to fatisfy the colony, he gave them in the island of Crete funds of a much larger sweet county seems at great prunes bere.

Vell. II. 81. Dio. revenue, and which brought them in twelve A. R. 716. hundred shouland festerces a year. And fur- 62501. ther he added a great and useful ornament to the town of Capua itself, by making an aqueduct to supply them with plenty of pure

By making fuch a wife use of his power and The war of fortune Octavina confirmed himself in the Antony aeffects and affection of the Romans against gainst the Antony, who, on the contrary, at the fame Parthians. time did every thing possible to make himself the object of their hatsed and contempt. This with appear in the account which I am going to give of his expedition against the Parthians, which was unfortunate thro his fault, and the bad fuccess of which was in itself less thameful, than the cause which had produced it. But I must begin by taking things nearer their fource. satisfic conters agers are amababline

रहार्ग्यादिक हर्टक स्मान के छेट्ट महिल where, who blander their o

The violent grief of Oneder for the death of his fon Pacarus. He chafes Phraates for his facceffor. Rheagus ranges his father, brothers, eldest fon, and several grandees of the kingdom to be put to death Antony's paffion for Cheopatra is renatural this unjust and immense liberatities towards been Antony's preparations for a coar. the gors into Armenia, the king of which was bis ally. The force of his army. The faults which his paffion for Cleopatra makes him cammit. He lays fiege to Prauspa, the copital of the king of the Medes. The kings of the Mades and Parthians out in pieces two of his legions. The king of Armenia abandons bine Ansony engages in a bestle where he puts to fight the Parthians, but causes a very small loss to them.

He.

He returns before Praafpa, in besieging of which he has very had fuccess. Deceived by the Parthians, who promised peace and safety to bim, be prepares to retreat. Being informed of the perfidy of the Parthians, instead of marching along the plain, be gains the mountains. Divers combats, where the Parthians are repulsed. The temerity of a Roman officer makes the Parthians gain a considerable advantage. The admirable conduct of Antony with regard to his foldiers. Their love of him. New battles, where the Romans regain the superiority. Their army is distress'd with famine. A very singular and fatal disease, caused by the use of an unknown berb. A new perfidy of the Parthians, from which Antony escapes, by means of intelligence given bim from the enemies army. The Romans suffer extreamly from thirst. A river. whose waters were very unwholsome. A terrible confusion occasioned by the fury of the Roman soldiers, who plunder their own camp. The last battle against the Parthians. The joy of the Romans when they faw themselves again in Armenia. Antony's foolish burry to get back to Cleopatra. A false and oftentatious account Sent by Antony to Rome. Honours which are decreed to bim. The last adventures and fatal death of Sextus Pompeius. The wars of Octavius in Illyrium. The personal bravery of Ostavius. The Salaffi fubdued by Valerius. The exploits of M. Crassus against the Mysians, and the Bastarne. The edileship of Agrippe. Agrippa and Mecenas chief friends, confidents, and ministers of Ostavius. Statues eretted to Livia and Octavia. The Portico of Octavia. The triumphs of Statilius Taurus and Sofius. New de don't present a la contracians.

Patricians. The death of Atticus. Sucession of the Consulship from the year 718 to the year 7721.

HE death of Pacorus, who was killed The violent I in the last battle which Ventidius had grief of gained over the Parthians, threw Orodes, the Orodes for father of the young prince, into fuch a violent bis fon Pagrief as almost degenerated into madness. Du- corus. ring the first fix days he would neither see any Justin. body, nor take any nourishment. Shut up in & 5. a dark place, and keeping an obstinate silence, if he spoke at all, it was only repeating dolefully the name of Pacorus. Frequently he thought he spoke to him, heard him, and saw him by him. But presently returning to himfelf, and recalling to mind, that Pacorus was no more, he wept for him bitterly.

This violent grief was only appealed to give He chuses place to a cruel disquiet, which tormented him Phraates upon the subject of the choice of a successor, a for his fuctitle which was left vacant by the death of Pacorus. He had by different wives thirty fons, who all aspired to the throne, and, seconded by their mothers, fatigued by their important folicitations the spirits of the weak old man. In short, after having continued in suspence a long while, Orodes unfortunately, both for himself and the Parthians, determin'd in favour of Phraates, the eldest of them all, but by far the deals need vino pad Phraates most wicked.

Scarcely did Phraates fee himself secured in causes his the succession to the throne, than he was impa- thers, eldest tient to enjoy it; and finding that his father fon, and fekept him from it too long, he caused him to veral of the be put to death. You may easily judge that grandees of he would no more spare the lives of his bro- dom to be

inbdued.

thers, put todeath.

Anteny 1 paffices for

Cleatara

A. R. 716. thers, who were an umbrage to him, and fome Ant. C. 36. of which had titles preferable to him, by the nobility of their mothers; whereas Phraates was born of an obscure woman. Even the eldest of his own fons, who happened to be of an age capable of giving him furpicion, was facrificed to his jealouly aid the Y and to vo bounts

Plut. Ant. The grandees of the kingdom, alarmed and Dio. irritated at fuch a barbarity, which extended itself likewise to them, and took off all the heads of the first of the nobility, made dispos fitions for a revolt, which the Romans might eafily have taken the advantage of. But Art tony was at that time in Italy, and Sofius, who commanded for him in Syria, had learned by the example of Ventidius, not to parfect too splendid a glory, which might eclipse that of his general. Thus the Parthian nobility, who were discontented at the government of Phraates, not being supported, faw themselves obliged to fly into different countries. But Moneles, one of the most illustrious and powerfub as mongst them, went over to Antony

Antony's passion for Cleopatra is renewed.

The Triumvir had fet out from Italy, as we have faid, when Octavius prepared to make the last effort against Sexus and Sicily 15 1 was then that the fatal pelition for Chopatral, which had been repressed and quieted by a deturn of reflection and wisdom after his marriage with Octavia, awoke in his breather It had only been afleep, and by no means

Capies bis * Ευθεσα δε η δεινή συμφο-Leeber, brego zerov woher o Kheond Tens tens, dixis un revadue Τίοσι λογισμος, αυθις ανίλαμ ทะ หู ล่างนี้ส่อยง, บับอุเล ซากา-อาสร้องชอง ล่บทธิ หู ชโกอง, ล้อนะอุ Charles the Attolli

פוסני ל חומדשי, דל שנישנו של is animasor boxis descriptor, set to have a unitarientarban rok Com refera quira, Kantonial win This inspeler akorra Khaomargar eis Eugian. Plut. Ant.

fubdued.

fubdued. After a very short interval, during A. R. 716. which reason seemed to have got the upper Ant. C. 36. hand; in short, to make use of the expression of Plato, adopted by Plutarch, that untractable companion of the foul, that rebellious flave, which too frequently, instead of receiving law from its fovereign, abuses and tyrannizes over him, entirely shook off the yoke. Antony, on approaching to Syria, dispatched Fonteius Capito, with orders to bring to him the queen

of Egypt.

She arrived; and, as if he wanted to make His unjust a reparation for his past coolness, and efface and imthe remembrance of it by unbounded liberali- mense libety, he made her immense presents. He added wards her. to her kingdom Phenicia, besides Tyre and Si- Joseph. don, Cœlesyria, that province of Judea which Antiq. produces balm, and a part of the country of XV.4.&de Arabia-felix. All these countries were possessed 13. by different little princes, under the protection Plut. Dio. of the Romans. Antony made no scruple of defrauding those who enjoyed them, provided he could fatisfy the unfatiable avarice of her whom he loved. He even yielded to her the rights which the Republick had over the island of Cyprus, and Cyrene, which were formerly dependant on the crown of Egypt. mans were very much shocked at these indecent liberalities, the occasion of which was fo fhameful; although Antony endeavoured to put a good colour upon it, faying, that the grandeur of the Roman nation appeared less in what it possessed, than in what it gave away to its allies.

Mean while, he did not forget his great pro- Antony's ject against the Parthians, from which he pro-prepara-Vol. XV. The most glorious success. The tions for terror war.

Ant. C. 36.

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ted threat

A. R. 716 terror of his name and arms had reached as far as Caucasus on the Caspian sea, by the victories which Ventidius his lieutenant had gain'd over the kings of Spain and Albania; and he expected a great deal from Moneses, a man of confiderable importance, both on account of his merit and capacity, as well as of his high rank and birth; and whose retreat must confequently weaken the Parthians, and procure him the most certain directions for conducting his enterprize. Wherefore he gave this nobleman a most honourable reception; and as he was proud, and loved pomp and oftentation, he compared Moneses to Themistocles, himfelf to the great king of Persia, and in order to render the refemblance compleat, he gave to the fugitive Parthian three * towns of Syria for his subsistence, Larissa, Arethusa, and Hierapolis. Nay, he even promifed him the throne of Arfacides. But all these fine ideas presently vanished. Phraates, who was fenfible how much fuch a fugitive must have it in his power to hurt him, omitted no means to regain him; and Moneses, upon the affurance of impunity, and an entire re-establishment in all his goods and rights, returned again to his king, and thus frustrated Antony's expectation. We shall see however, afterwards, this Parthian nobleman doing good fervice to the Roman army.

Antony, tho' he was piqued at feeing himfelf abandoned by Moneles, left him at full liberty to retire. One part of his plan was to amuse Phraates by a negotiation, and by hopes

^{*} Thus Artaxerxes bad gi- for his wine, and the third for wen three towns to Themisto- bis meat. See antient history. cles, one for his bread, another Book vii. Sect. 2.

of peace, in order to surprise him by a sudden A. R. 716. attack, which would not allow him time to pre- Ant. C. 36. pare himself. If we may believe Florus, there Flo. IV. 10 was even a treaty in form drawn up between Antony and the king of the Parthians, which must convict the Roman general of an inexcufable piece of perfidy. But to confine ourfelves to the simple recital of Plutarch and Dio, we cannot excuse him from fraud and artifice. According to these historians, he fent an embaffy to Phraates, to demand of him the restitution of the colours taken at the defeat of Craffus, as also those prisoners who remained alive; and without waiting for an answer, having taken leave of Cleopatra, he advanced to- the king of wards Armenia, where was the general rendez- which was vous of his troops.

Artabazes, king of Armenia, fon of Tigranes, an ally of the Romans, was at that time at war with another Artabazes, king of the Atropatenian * Medes, an ally of Phraates. Antony came then, as it were, to fuccour the king of Armenia, whilst it may be conjectured (for authors are not fufficiently explicit upon this point) that he avoided acting directly against the Parthians, either to lull them, if possible, into a false security, till having subdued Media, he might be in a condition to

Chepaira.

* They distinguished Media from Atropatres, who had prenian yoke. Atropatros was elected king in acknowledgwhich had Echatana for its ment of his good service, and was still subsisting in the time

at that time into two, the ferved it from the Macedogreat Media, and the Airopatenian. The great Media, capital, made a part of the the succession was continued empire of the Parthians. The down in his posterity, which Atropatenian Media was a province of the old kingdom of of Strabo. the Medes, and took its name The Sold state the

GELLIUS and Coccerus, Confuls.

324 Ant. C. 36.

A. R. 716. enter suddenly into the heart of their country; or not to appear openly to violate his faith, by attacking a prince with whom he either made a treaty of peace, or at least was in terms about it. This however, is certain, that his intention was not bounded in defending the king of Armenia, nor in making an invasion on the country of the Medes, but that it was the Parthians whom he wanted to make war against.

The force

Ele pora ser-

nimum Res

The forces which he had affembled, were of his army. fufficient to prove the greatness of his defigns. He reviewed them in Armenia, and found them to confift of feventy thousand Roman infantry, ten thousand Spanish and Gaulish horse, to which were added thirty thousand auxillary troops, whichwere furnish'd to him bythe kings his allies.

· The faults which bis passion for Cleopatra makes bim commit.

Nevertheless, this powerful army, which spread the alarm as far as Bactria and the Indies, and put all Asia in a violent commotion, was rendered useless by the foolish passion of Antony for Cleopatra. For being defirous of paffing the winter with her, he haftened to begin the operations of war too foon, and conducted himself in every thing with precipitation, not behaving like himfelf, nor mafter of his reason, but as if he had been enchanted by fome delufion, turning incessantly his looks towards Egypt, and more engaged to return fpeedily, than to vanquish his enemies.

He began then by a very remarkable fault, taking the field all at once, though the feafon was far advanced, and his troops, after a march of above three hundred leagues, had great need of rest. He was advised to give them time to recover from their fatigue, and even to pass the winter in Armenia, to be in a condition to attack Media the beginning of the next spring, be-

fore

fore the army of the Parthians could be affem. A. R. 786. bled. But he could not fuffer that delay; he wanted to march immediately, and entering into Atropatena, which was the kingdom of Artabazes, he plundered it, and there began his hostilities.

The fecond fault, which was owing to the same principle, was, that finding his march retarded by the machines of war, which followed the army in three hundred waggons, he left them by the way under the guard of two led gions, commanded by Oppius Statianus sound as to himself, he advanced with all speed, and leid Gege to Pranspa, the capital of Atropaterian He las Modia, imagining he should make an easy con- size to quest of that place, and of the whole country, Pracha, the capital because the king was absent, and engaged with of the king Phrastes elsewhere. But she town was strong of the and well fortified; and from the first operal Medes. tions of the fiege, Antony had reason to be fentible, how much he was in the wrong, for not carrying with him his warlike machines especially a battering ram of foursome feet long, which would have been of great ofe to them. For that whole country produced wdry bad wood, which bad neither oftrengthunor height, and confequently could not be remployed for the construction of machines, such Parchisms as the necessity of the service required. And tony then was obliged to throw up terraffes, in order to raise the beliegers as high as the walls, which was a work both long and very daboiegnis all nels, his men would be difcouraged. rious.

As foon as the kings of the Medes and Par- of the thians had advice of the fiege of Praaspa, they Medes and approached towards Antony. But being in lit! Parthians the pain for a town fo well defended, and fo ill piecestwo of noping

attacked, bis legions.

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A. R. 716. attacked, instead of marching streight to that general, they altered their rout, and furprised Statianus. The troops which that officer commanded, were cut in pieces, and there remained ten thousand dead upon the spot. Statianus himself was also killed, and all the machines taken and burnt. Polemon, king of Pontus, escaped alone from the slaughter, the Parthians having spared him, in hopes of extorting a large ranfom from him, as they actually did. So confiderable a lofs, at the beginning of a great and important enterprife, shagrined Antony very much; and very foon after, the Armenian The king Artabazes gave him new cause of trouble of Armenia and disquiet, by leaving him, and retiring into his kingdom with his troops, which amounted to fixteen thousand horse, and seven thousand foot. The perfidy of that prince was still more provoking to him, as it was accompanied with ingratitude, because it was to defend him, and revenge his cause, that the Romans had come into that country. Brityring Jon

abandons

Antony enbattle, where he puts to flight the a very fmall loss to them.

Mean while, the victorious Parthians adgages in a vanced towards Praaspa, and taking the first advantage as a certain omen of fuccels for the future, already threatened infolently the Roman army; but however, without putting Parthians, themselves within reach of the infantry, which but causes they greatly feared. Antony apprehended, that if he fuffered patiently these insults, and left his troops in inaction, which would appear to be no better than an acknowledgment of weakness, his men would be discouraged. folved therefore to endeavour to bring on a battle; and with this view he went out of his lines with ten legions, three Pretorian Cohorts, and all his cavalry, as for a general forage, steached, he legion. hoping

hoping that the enemy would follow him, and A. R. 716. give him an opportunity of engaging with Ant. C. 36. them.

In short, after one day's march, he discovered the Parthian army, which was ranged in form of a crescent near the road where he was to pass. He then display'd in his camp the signal of battle, which was, as we have observed elsewhere, a purple coat of arms spread over the general's tent. But in order to deceive the Parthians, and make them continue in their post, he caused the tents to be struck, as if he had defigned to continue his march, and not to engage. He set out then in sight of the enemy, having given orders to his cavalry, to fall back immediately, as foon as they should be within reach of being attacked by the legions. It was a fight worthy of admiration for the Parthians to behold the Roman army defiling towards them. As they neither observed, nor were acquainted with any kind of discipline, they beheld with furprize this whole multitude advancing towards them in the most beautiful order, separated by equal intervals, and the foldiers marching without noise or tumult, brandishing their demi-pikes which they had in their hands.

Immediately the fignal was given, and the Roman cavalry wheeling about, rushed in upon the Barbarians, who did not expect them, with loud cries. Nevertheless, they sustained this shock, tho' they had not room to make use of their arrows. But when the infantry approached, accompanying their cries with the noise of the spears striking upon their bucklers, the Parthian cavalry took fright, and the riders themselves sled before they could engage. An-

Y 4

infine.

A. R. 716. tony purfued them very keenly, imagining he Ant. C. 36. had obtained a decisive victory. But after his infantry had purfued them as far as two leagues beyond the field of battle, and the cavalry fix, upon examining the enemy that were killed or taken, they found only four core dead and fifty taken prisoners. Upon this their joy was greatly mortified, and the Romans felt very fenfibly a war, in which, when they were victorious, they caused so little loss to the enemy, and when they were defeated, suffered as much as those who were routed under Statianus.

He returns before of which

Next day, Antony, having prepared himself to return before Praafpa, the Parthians apin besieging peared again, at first in a small body, afterwards their number increased, and at last their be bas very whole army being affembled, as fresh and as full bad succession of vigour and boldness as they were the preceding day, haraffed and fatigued Antony's troops, by brisk and frequent repeated attacks; and it was with a great deal of trouble and danger that the Romans regained their camp.

Very foon after, the belieged made a fuccefsful fally, and the troops which were opposed to them, shamefully took flight. Antony irritated at this bad fuccess, decimated the guilty Cohorts, and caused barley, instead of wheat, to be distributed to those soldiers whose good fortune had exempted them from punishment.

This lituation of the Romans was exceeding Deceived by the Par- troublesome, and they saw themselves threatenthians, who ed with still more terrible consequences. For they premis' dbim could go no more to forage, nor get any propeace and fafety, be prepares to always a great many killed and wounded. Thus retreat.

visions without fighting for them, and they had to the fear of the enemy, was added that of fa-

mine.

mine. Phrastes, on his part, was hot with A.R. 766. dut disquiet; for the first colds of autumn became already to be felt, and he knew that the Parthians were heither accustomed for inclined to keep the field in winter; so that if the Romans should persevere, he suspected he might be abandoned by his troops, and oblig'd to retire. To avoid which inconvenience, he had recourse to artistee, and endeavoured to deceive Antony by false appearances of friendship.

In confequence of this new project and conformable to his orders, the Chiefs of the Parthians, inflead of acting with their accultomed Vivacity against the Romans in their forages, and upon other occasions, when they came within teach of them, but on a more gentle behaviour, retreating defignedly to allow them to get providens, prairing their forprising var four wherever they met them, and affuring them of the efteem and admiration of Phrantes. They came at last to have familiar conversatis ons with them, in which they blamed Antony very much, for nor taking the advantage of the friendship of the Ring of the Parthans, who wished to have beace, and had no melimation to destroy such a number of bravewartfors. "Your general, faid they, obstructely waits here for two of the most formidable enemies of manikind, famine and winter, which are fufficient " to deftroy him, and from which it will be " very difficult for him to escape, even with

These expressions being reported to Antony, made an impression upon him, and the hope of retreating safe, diminished the simmers of his resolution to continue the sleepe. In the mean time he would not hazard taking such a step,

our affiftance."

A.R. 716 nor offer terms of peace to the enemy, till he had first caused those who brought this account to be examined, to know whether they were authorized by Phraates in what they said. They answered, that they had only expressed the true fentiments of their prince, and that Antony

might fafely depend upon the truth of it.

This answer determined the Roman General to negotiate with Phraates, and accordingly he fent to him some of his friends. Only, in order to fave his honour in some measure, and not to appear as if he thought himself very happy in being at liberty to retreat, he charged ftill to demand the restitution of the Roman standards and prisoners, which had remained in the power of the Parthians ever fince the defeat of Crassus. The king received his deputation in a haughty manner, being feated on a throne of gold, and holding in his hand a bow, the string of which he pulled. So haughty a reception presaged a disdainful answer; and he rejected as impertinent the proposition for restoring the prisoners and colours, bursting out into bitter reproaches against the Romans; but promised them however peace and security, if they chose to retire. Antony was obliged to be content with what was granted him, by an enemy who was in a condition of prescribing laws to him; and he ordered his men to make all the necessary preparations for It was customary on such occasions for ge-

It was customary on such occasions for generals to harangue their army, which Antony was very capable of. He knew very well how to acquit himself in a publick speech, and especially he seemed to be formed to please the soldiers by a kind of military eloquence, which

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was

was agreeable to their tafte, and inspired them A. R. 716. with fuch fentiments as he wished to raise in them. But upon this melancholy occasion, the shame and confusion he was in stopped his mouth, and he deputed Domitius Ahenobarbus to harangue the troops in his room. Some were affronted at this, and thought themselves neglected, but others, and by far the greatest number, knew perfectly well the motive of this forced filence. They were heartily forry for it, and it was a motive for them to fimpathize with their general, and obey him the more affiduoufly. ded, decided in favor

Antony prepar'd to return the fame way he Being incame, through a plain open country. But formed of happily for him and his army, there arrived in the treahis camp one of the old * Roman prisoners, in chery of the Parthians, whom the love of his country had only been inflead of increased, by a long and melancholy confine- marching ment among Barbarians. He caused them to along the carry him to Antony, and advised him to turn plain, be to the right on the fide of the mountains, and gains the not expose his legions, who were heavy armed, in vast plains, quite naked, and without any fhelter, to fifty thousand cavalry, and a shower of innumerable arrows. He discovered to him

* Velleius and Florus call bim expressly one of the Roman prisoners. We read in Plutarch, that this guide, to whom Antony owed the safety of his army, was a Mardian by birth, and consequently a stranger with regard to the Romans, being born in upper Afia. Some learned men believe that there is an error in Plutarch's text, and that instead of Mardi, it pugbt to be read Marti, a peo-

ple of Italy; and thus Plutarch would agree with the Roman bistorians. But if he had believed that this man was one who had escaped from the defeat of Craffus, I am perfuaded be would have mentioned that circumflance in express terms. I therefore imagine, that there is no room to make any alteration in bis text; but I have prefer'd the authority of the Latin authors.

Ant. C. 36

A. R. 716 the fecret interitions of Phraates, who had no other view than that of making him fall into his fnare, in amufing him by deceitful promiles. In short, he offered to serve him as a guide, and to conduct him by a shorter way. where he would find more provisions for the subsistence of his troops. Antony struck with this discovery, was nevertheless scrupulous in distrusting the Parthians, with whom he had just concluded a treaty. However, the double advantage of a rout which would shorten the march, and where his army would be better provided, decided in favour of the advice proposed by the prisoner, who having defired he might be fettered as a proof of his fidelity, was accepted as guide, and charged with directing the rout of the army. and to see grass aid

are repul-

The two first days passed very quietly. But comban the third day, when Antony dreamt no more where the of the Parthians, and already quite secure, Partham marched in irregular order, the guide observed a great breach newly made, and a dike which confined the waters of a river, in confequence of which the road was overflowed. He gave them notice from this, that the enemy was not far of; and in thort, Antony had fcarce time to draw his legions up in order before the Parthians appeared, and attempted to inclose his army by wheeling round about them. Antony had left between the ranks room for the flingers and archers, who, at the approach of the enemy, immediately advanced. The combat was very hot, and the Parthians were no less hurt by the balls of lead, and arrows, which the Romans discharged upon them, than the light troops of the Romans were by the arrows of the Parthians. They retreated, and returned again to the 9113

the charge. But the Gaulish cavalry having A. R. 716. engaged, dispersed them intirely, and they appeared no more that day. The fuccess of that first combat, put Antony upon the method of refifting the attacks of the Parthians. Having ranged his army into a large square, he placed his light-armed troops, not only in the rear, but also in the front and flanks; and the

cavalry had orders, after they had broken

the enemy to stop, and not pursue them too farount to vood emal a

By this disposition, and prosecuting this plan, the Romans eafily suffered the redoubled efforts of the Parthians for four days successively; and the want of fuccess abating the ardour of the Barbarians, they already thought of returning, and laid hold of the winter as a pretence for it. But the rashness of a Roman officer, which procured them a confiderable advantage, at the fame time reftor'd their courage and perfeverance. An another to shall

This officer, who was call'd Fabius Gallus, The temedid not want bravery, and undertaking to beat rity of a the Parthians, so as to hinder their appearing ficer makes for the future, he demanded of Antony a de- the Partachment of light troops and cavalry. With thians gain this body, which he obtained, he did not con- a confidetent himself with only repelling the enemy, rable adbut he even was fo rath as to attack and purfue them. It was in the rear of the Roman army that this action happened, and as foon as those who commanded there saw Gallus at a distance from them, alarmed at their danger, they fent orders for him to return immediately. But he did not think proper to obey these orders. In vain the Questor Tierus reproached him very warmly, accusing him of being the occasion

A. R. 716. occasion of losing so many brave men, and Ant. C. 36. even laid hold of the colours to make him return. But nothing could get the better of the obstinacy of Gallus. He pushed always forward without taking care of his rear, till all at once he faw himfelf intirely furrounded.

> He then demanded affiftance; but Canidius, whose office this was, and who had the most authority of all Antony's lieutenants, committed a great fault on this occasion. For instead of sending a large body of troops. which might have decided the affair at once. he fent fucceffively feveral fmall Platoons, who were defeated one after another; and this put almost the whole army in a pannick. Antony was obliged to come himself with the legions which composed the advanced guard, to stop the Parthians, and secure a retreat for his own men who fled. Thus finished that unfortunate battle, in which they reckoned on the fide of the Romans, three thousand kill'd and five thousand wounded; and amongst the latter was Gallus himself, who was wounded with four arrows, and died foon after.

rable condut of Antony, with regard to for bim.

accairon

The admi- Antony behaved admirably in these melancholy rencounters. He went thro' all the tents to visit the wounded, sharing in their difasters, and condoling their hard fortune, bis foldiers, even fo far as to shed tears; and the foldiers Their love shewed themselves in their turn, extremely densible of the affection of their general. They comforted him, took him by the hand, loaded him with terms of respect and attachment, and prayed him to turn his cares towards himfelf, protesting to him, that, provided he was kept fafe, they should look upon themselves as happy and victorious.

Such

Such were the fentiments of his whole army, A. R. 716. which, whether one confiders the number, or courage of the foldiers, or their patience in fatigues, or in short, the persons of the men, and the vigour of the whole corps, was the finest that had been assembled at the time of which we are now writing; and which further may be compared to all that the ancient Roman manners present as the most perfect. both for respect towards their general, and exactness of obedience, which proceeded from the heart, and from the unanimous disposition which they all had, both great and small, officers and private foldiers, to prefer the esteem and good graces of Antony, to their fafety, and even their lives.

He deferved, on many accounts, this lively and tender attachment, and all good qualities concurred to make him adored by his troops. Frist, his noble descent, then his eloquence, but especially the frankness and candour of his proceedings, a magnificent liberality, popular manners, and a familiar gaity, which extended to their diversions. And, on the present occasion, his sympathizing with their sufferings, and his attention to prevent their wants and defires, made the fick and wounded still more zealous for his fervice, than those who

enjoyed their health and vigour.

The Parthians were ignorant of this dispo- New fition of the Romans; and looking upon them battles, as vanquished and totally discouraged, they Romanirepassed the night, contrary to their custom, gain the hard by the enemy's camp, reckoning to find Juperiority. it very foon empty, and to have no more trouble but to plunder it quietly. Phraates, their king, who kept always at some distance

where the

from

336 A. R. 716. Ant. C. 26.

R. 716 from the body of the army, thought also that at. C. 36 the victory was compleat, and fent his guard

to take a share of the spoil.

Antony prepared himself to receive their attack firmly, and thought it was proper to harangue his army in the prefent conjuncture. He intended to harangue them in a mourning robe, in order to excite their commiferation the more. But his friends having represented to him, that the superstitious soldiers might draw a bad omen from it, he cloathed himself according to his cuftom in a purple robe, and in the speech which he made, mixed praises with reproaches, blaming those who had fled, and commending those who had done their duty well, and renewed the combat. all affored him of their zeal and affection. The faulty even offered themselves voluntarily to his revenge, either to be decimated, if he thought proper, or punished in whatever other manner he pleased. Only they conjured him to cease to be irritated against them, and not be dispirited. Then Antony, raising his eyes to heaven, beseeched the Gods, that if his past prosperities ought to be expiated by some disgrace, their heavenly vengeance might fall on him alone, but that the generofity of his army might be recompensed with fafety and victory.

The Romans having begun their march, very well guarded and prepared in case of an attack, had so much the less trouble in repulsing the Parthians, as those came with an opinion, that they had less business to fight than to take possession of a prey, which was sure and defenceless. Thus seeing themselves, contrary to expectation, born down with a shower

shower of arrows, and meeting with a vigorous A.R. 716, resistance from an enemy whom they thought deseated and dismay'd, surprise as well as fear made them retire precipitately; but, in the mean while, without renouncing their hope and intention of satiguing the Roman army;

and destroying it if they could.

They foon imagined that they had found an opportunity, at the descent of a hill, where the Romans embarrass'd by a flippery and fleep declivity, and harass'd by a numerous cavalry, found it very difficult to advance, and at last took the resolution of forming with their bucklers, what they called a military Tortoife. The meaning of this term is well enough understood. It was usual in the Roman army, when the foldiers were exposed to a multitude of arrows, after having placed in the center all the cavalry and light troops, and ranged themselves in a square battalion, to cover with the . bucklers the front and flanks of the battalion; and all those who were in the middle raised their bucklers over their heads, disposing them after the manner of tyles. Thus defended on all fides, they did not allow the enemy to take advantage of them any where, the arrows glancing upon the bucklers without hurting the foldiers. Those who were in the first line, in order to be entirely covered, kneeled upon one knee: and it was this that deceived the Parthians. They thought it was fatigue and discouragement which depressed the Romans, and, leaving their arrows, they took in their hands long halberts to pierce through this Tortoise. At their approach the Romans cried aloud in a threatening manner, stood up, and smiting them with the javelines which they had in their hands, they killed VOL. XV.

A. R. 7 6 killed the foremost, and put the rest to slight.

Aut. C. 36. The same thing happened the following days, and the Romans made but very little progress.

with famine.

Their army A famine began likewise to diffress the is diffrest d army, because they had no grain but what they took by force, and belides they wanted proper instruments to grind it. The beasts of burden which they had, either perifhed by fatigue, or were employed in carrying the fick and wounded, and confequently their diffress became quite deplorable, infomuch that a finall measure of wheat was fold for twenty-five * One and Drachma's *, and the barley bread was exchanged for filver, weight for weight. It was absolutely necessary therefore for the soldiers to have recourse to roots and pulse, which were also very hard to come at, and hunger obliged them to try an unknown herb, the use of which was fatal to them, and beginning by disturbing

twenty fbillings. and tenpence.

A very fingular and fatal difease, caused by the ule of an unknown berb.

bollist

their reason, at last killed them. 18d 3780 The effect of this herb was extremely furprising. They who eat of it, loft their senses and memory, and the only idea which poffer fed them, was to turn over and over all the stones which they met with. They gave themfelves up to this exercise as to a most serious imployment, fo that the plain was quite filled with men stooping towards the ground, and digging it, in order to take up the flones, and transport them from one place to another. Wine was the only remedy against this difeafe. and their stock was quite spent. Thus this strange species of madness terminated in death. which was preceded by a vomiting of pure bile.

Antony feeing them perish under his eyes in great numbers, and conftantly purfued by the Parthians, cried out feveral times, Ore-

treat of ten thousand! He admired, though at A. R. 716. the fame time it redoubled his grief, the fate of the Greek troops led back by Xenophon, who having a much larger country to pass over, and more numerous enemies to engage, nevertheless feturned happy and triumphant.

Mean while the Parthians not being able to A new break in upon the Roman army, or diforder perfidy of their ranks, always repulled, always defeated, the Parand obliged to fly, had recourse again to artisticans, from which fice, to which the genius of that nation carried Antony them, and which had been at first on the point escapes by of fucceeding. They fought therefore for op. intelligence portunities of getting near the Romans, when from the these went to gather provisions in the country, army. and Thewing their bows unbent, they entered into convertation with them, and told them that they thought themselves sufficiently revenged, and were making preparations to return to their country; that only some of the troops of Media were to keep within fight of them for two or three days longer, not in order to molest them, but to defend the villages which were upon that rout. They accompanied these speeches with all forts of careffes and testimonies of friendship, so that the Romans began to give credit to them, and conceive better hopes. Antony himself was ftaggered at it, and of the two roads which he might chuse, one by the mountains, which they faid wanted water, and the other by the plain, he had almost determined for the latter. It is indeed furprising, that he should have been fo little upon his guard against the perfidy of the Parthians. But a falutary advice, which also came to him from the enemy's army, corrected his error.

A. R. 716. t. C. 36.

A friend of Moneses, that illustrious fugitive, to whom Antony had made a present of three towns, came to the Roman camp, and demanded that they would allow him to fpeak with one who knew the language of the Parthians, or the Syrians. Alexander of Antioch, in whom Antony placed a great deal of confidence, having prefented himfelf, Mithridates, which was the name of this friend of Moneses, told him, that Moneses, willing to testify by an effectual piece of service his gratitude to the Roman general, had fent him to them. He then pointed with his finger to a chain of mountains, and faid to him: " Be-"hind those mountains the whole Parthian " army is posted in ambush. They hope, " that being deluded by their discourse, you " will march over the plain, commanded by " those heights which conceal them; but take " care not to do it. If you continue by the " way of the mountains, you have nothing to " fear but those evils to which you have been " long accustomed, fatigue and thirst. But if Antony ventures to march by the plain, "let him take care that he does not meet " with the catastrophe of Crassus."

Antony, who thought before that he was free from all danger, was troubled to fee him-, felf thrown afresh into fear and embarrassments. He affembled his council, and ordered the guide to attend, who himself was already afraid of the plain, because it was a vast defert, which had no certain road, and where they might easily wander; whereas by the mountains they had no other inconveniency than that of wanting water for the space of a day. It was therefore determined to take this last A friend

last rout, and the soldiers had orders to lay in A. R. 719. a stock of water. As they were destitute of Ant. C. 36. veffels, some made use of their helmets to carry water with them, and others filled bottles. with it, and they fet out upon their march the

beginning of the night.

The Parthians were foon informed of the departure of the Roman army, and they made hafte to purfue them, even in the night-time, contrary to their custom. At break of day they came up with them, and falling upon their rear, they threw the harass'd troops, which had made a forced march of ten leagues, and still suffered greatly from thirst, into some The Rodisorder. But presently the Romans recover-mans sufed their courage; and tho' they were surprised mely from to fee themselves briskly attacked, by enemies thirstwhich they thought they had left far behind them, they flood their ground and fought vigorously, still advancing slowly in their march.

While the Parthians were still harassing the A river rear of the Roman army, the front approached whose wato a river, which to the thirsty soldiers ap- ters were pear'd to be a bleffing fent down from heaven. wery un-They ran hastily to it in spite of the remonstrances of their guide, who informed them, that the quality of the waters was bad and unwholesome, to which they gave no credit, till they were convinced by experience, that the information he gave them was too true. The waters were falt and loaded with acids, which caused to those who drank of them violent cholics, and instead of quenching their thirst, increased it greatly. What they suffered gave weight to Antony's exhortation, who going amongst the ranks, encouraged the foldiers

A. R. 716 still to have patience for a little while, till they Ant. C, 36 should come to another river which was not far off, and the waters of which they might drink without fear or danger; and he added, that beyond that river, the country was impract ticable for the Parthian cavalry, so that they would be delivered from the pursuit of their enemies. At the same time he called back those who were fighting, and caused the retreat to be founded, being willing to encamp in the place where they were, that at least the

foldiers might refresh themselves under the shelter of their tents.

The Parthians, who never attacked the Romans but during their march, having retreated as usual, the same Mithridates, who had given them fuch good advice before, came again into Antony's camp, and, demanding to speak once more with Alexander of Antioch, he advised him to tell the Romans, after they had taken a short repose, to make haste to decamp, and march to the river, because the Parthians were refolved to purfue them so far, but not to pass it. Antony rewarded the fervice which Mithridates had done him, with a great number of veffels of gold, as many of which as he could, he concealed under his clothes, and departed.

A terrible confusion occasioned by the fury of the Roman folplunder their own

camp.

The Romans made a right use of the information, which the Parthian had given them, and after a short halt, began their march again, They were not purfued, before it was dark. nor in the least alarmed by the enemy. But diers, who the following night was the most cruel of all, occasion'd intirely by their own indiscretion. A rage for plundering seized them all of a sudden, for which no other cause could possibly

Ant. C. 36.

sh being

be affigned, but the natural avarice of the A.R. 4161 foldiers emboldened by the favour of the night, They fell then upon those who had gold and money, and killed them, to enrich themselves with their spoils. They did not even spare the baggage of their General, and broke to pieces the magnificent equipage to share it among themselves. The confusion was frightful; they did not know one another, and as they were ignorant of the cause of the tumult, they attributed it to an attack of the enemy. Antony in despair, saw no resource lest but in a violent death, and having called one of his guards, named Rhamnus, who had been a gladiator, he made him promise with an oath to stab him when he should defire it, and afterwards cut off his head, that he might neither be taken alive by the Parthians, nor known after his/death. of and bevisored ensignal selections

His friends could not refrain from tears : but the guide comforted him, by telling him, that they were coming near the river, for he felt in the air a refreshing moisture, which denoted water to be near them, and rendered respiration more easy and agreeable. That befides, the calculation of the time they had been on the march, corresponded with those figns; for the hight was just at a close. At the same time some officers, who had taken care to enquire into the cause of the tumult, informed him that the enemy had no hand in it, and that it was only the effect of the unbridled avarice of his own troops. Thus to re-establish peace and order among the foldiers, he commanded them to halt, and every one to range himfelf under his proper colours. gentium dama decenter

from

A. R. 716. Ant. C. 36. The last battle against the

Day-light began already to appear, and with it the Parthian army. But the army of the Romans had recover'd from its confusion, and the light troops advanced in good order to Parthians, beat back the enemy. At the same time the legionary foldiers formed the tortoife, which I have already described; and secure under this shelter they always proceeded, tho' slowly, towards the end of their march, without being haraffed by the Parthians, who durst not approach them. donn no or it befugn

> At last they discovered the river which was fo much longed for; and Antony having placed his cavalry on the banks of it, facing the enemy, transported his fick first. Presently the whole troops faw themselves in full tranquillity, and at liberty to quench their thirst, in wholesome running water. For as soon as the Parthians perceived the river, they ceased to shoot at them, and slackened their bows; and one of them raifing his voice, cried to them aloud, * "Farewel, Romans, retreat "without fear. 'Tis with very good reason "that fame has published your glory, and " nations acknowledge you their conquerors; " feeing you have escaped the arrows of the " Parthians."

> As foon as the Romans reach'd the other fide of the river, their first care was to relax themselves a little, after so many fatigues. They then began again their march, and the fixth day after the last battle, they arrive at Araxes, which separates Atropatenian Media

·VILL

Ite & bene valete, Ro- qui Parthorum tela fogistis. mani. Merità vos victores Flor. IV. 10. gentium fama loquitur,

from Armenia. This march was performed A. R. 716. without any danger, but not without disquiet. They were always suspicious of the Parthians, and upon approaching to Araxes, a report was fpread, that the Parthians were again appearing. But it was a false alarm; and the Romans had no other difficulty to overcome, than that of the river itself, which was large and rapid.

It cannot be express'd with what satisfaction The joy of the foldiers again faw Armenia. They were in the Romans when they the fame transports, as people who arrive on faw themshoar, after a long and dangerous voyage. selves a-They kissed that beloved ground, and em-gain in braced one another with tears of joy. The Armenia. great plenty of every thing, which succeeded their late want and famine, became hurtful to many of them; for having no command of themselves in eating and drinking, they fell into dropfies, and other obstinate diseases.

Antony reviewed his troops, and found that he had loft twenty thousand foot, and four thousand horse, more than one half of which had perished by diseases, and not by the enemy. We must add to this considerable loss, that of almost all the baggage of the army. His march from Praafpa, to the river near which he fought for the last time with the Parthians, was twenty-one days. During which they Liv. Epift. marched one hundred leagues, and fought CXXX. eighteen battles, always coming off victorious; Plut. but his victories had no decifive effect, because he could not purfue the enemy far, nor hinder them from rallying again at some distance. From hence we may observe, what a loss the perfidy of the king of Armenia was to Antony, who deferted him at the beginning of the fiege of Praaspa. For that prince having a flourish-

Ant. C. 36.

deben they

emids upos

A.R. #16. ing cavalry, amounting to fixteen thousand, armed almost in the manner of the Parthiansy and accustomed to fight the same way, their . affiftance would have focured a complete victory to the Romans. For the legions putting to flight the Parthians, and the Armenian can valry pursuing and killing them, they could not have railied to foon, nor return'd to frequently to the charge, b'alargna ad tonnas it

the Romans The whole Roman army breathed nothing but vengeance against Artabazes, and they wanted to do themselves justice immediately. Antony, not less irritated, but more mafter of his refenement, did not think it advisable to attack a king upon his throne, and in his own country, with troops quite fpent with miferies and fatigues. He therefore made use of diffimulation, and far from shewing any displeasure at the king of Armenia, he continued to teftify a great deal of confidence in him, and even went fo far as to receive money and provisions of him; putting off his revenge to

had periffice by difeates and not comit rations

Antony's foolish burry 10 get back to Cleopatra.

In order to execute this revenge, Antony could never have fallen upon a better method, than by taking up his winter quarters in Armenia; which besides would have enabled him to renew the war against the Parthians, at the opening of the next campaign, and to take fatisfaction, which he had extremely at heart, for the affront which he had received of him. But his blind passion for Cleopatra, made him forget all other confiderations. His mind was fill'd with nothing but the hopes of feeing her again; and, in fpire of the rigour of the feafon, he chose to return with his army into Syria, and marched his men over fnows and ice, which ant

which destroy'd to the number of eight A. B. 716. thousand more. The slowness of a laborious Ant. C. 36. march irritated his patience, and as foon as it was possible, he went on before, accompanied with a very few of his troops, and came to the fea, at a place called the White

Village, between Berytus and Sidon.

There, waiting for the queen of Egypt, he gave himself up to excesses of eating and drinking, in order to allay his vexation, making merry night and day with his friends, Even this indecent diversion was not sufficient to mitigate his foolish passion; for frequently in the middle of a repast, while they were preffing each other to drink, he would flart fuddenly from table, and run to the river, to fee if he could discover the vessels which were to bring to him Cleopatra.

At last she arrived, and brought with her cloaths and money, which Antony distributed to his troops. Some imagined the money belonged to himself, and that he only wanted to

give the queen the honour of it.

Antony had certainly very little reason to A false be vain of this expedition. However, he oftentations wrote to Rome of it, in the stile of a conqueror, account disquising his losses, and magnifying the list. disguising his losses, and magnifying the little tony to advantages he had gained; for which, he well Rome. deserved those reproaches, which the flatterers of Cæsar have thrown upon him, for calling his a flight a victory, and representing himself as a conqueror, for having escaped from the

Incredibili mentis vecorevalerat, Flor, IV. 10.

[·] Hanc Antonius fugam suam, quia vivus exierat, dia, serocior aliquanto fa-victoriam vocabat. Vell. Aus est, quasi vicisset qui

A. R. 716. hands of the enemy. Octavius was perfectly well acquainted with the truth of the affair, and had taken care to inform himself sufficiently about it. But being obliged to keep in with Antony, and fo much the more as Sextus Pompeius was still alive, he took care not to contradict publickly the vain-glorious relations of his colleague. On the contrary, he order'd the Senate to decree a thanksgiving and facrifices to the Gods, as for a happy and glorious fuccess.

> The disquiet which the life of Sextus Pompeius gave to Octavius, did not last long, for he died the year following, which had for Confuls L. Cornificius, and a man of Sextus's family and name, but of a different branch, least visual rayonto pluga all in sal of

> > were to bring to him Cleopatra

hands

A. R. 717. Ant. C. 35.

L. Cornificius. SEX. POMPEIUS.

ventures, and fatal death of Sextus Pompeius. Appian. Civil.I.V. Dio 1. XLIX.

The last ad- I have already related in what manner Sextus Pompeius was forced by Octavius to abandon Sicily, after he had possessed it several years, and fly from the port of Messina with seventeen vessels. His chief intention was to gain Asia; but as no body pursued him, he did not hurry himself so much as to forget his profesfion of a pyrate, and he went to pillage the rich temple of Juno Lacinfa, fituated upon the East coast of Bruttium, near Cortona. From thence he passed into Corcyrus, then to the island of Gephallenia, and at last he arrived at Mitylene, the capital of the island of Lesbos, the inhabitants of which had a great regard to the memory of his father and his family.

He proposed at first to pass the winter A. R. 717. peaceably at this place, waiting Antony's return from his expedition against the Parthians, and to go and prefent himself to him as an unfortunate friend, who implored his protection. But his restless ambition very soon suggested other thoughts to him. Displeased at the treatment of Furnius, who commanded for the Triumvir in Asia; and animated by the hopes which Antony's bad fuccess in the war against the Parthians revived in his breaft, he projected nothing less than to substitute himself in his place, or, at least, to share with him the provinces of the East. He faw his troops increase daily, by a great number of his old foldiers and friends, who, deftitute of all resource, came flocking about him. He therefore took again the enfigns of command, and the general's military robe; he refitted his veffels, and exercised his rowers, alledging for pretence, fometimes the necessity of guarding himself against Octavius, and sometimes the fervice of Antony, to whom he was willing to render himself useful. In the mean time; he fent deputies to the kings and little princes of Thrace, and to those of Pontus, to negotiate with them flyly. He even fent them to the Parthians, to whom he hoped his name would be a favourable recommendation; and calling to mind the example of Labienus, who had been so well received by them, and put at the head of their armies, he did not at all doubt but that the friendship of Pompey's fon would be still in higher esteem with them. It will naturally be imagined, that the concealed these practices as carefully as possible. While the thus acted industriously against Antony, he

A. R. 11/1 at the same time promised him a faithful friend-Aut. C. 39. Ship; and the better to impose upon him, he sent to him some of his friends with orders to offer him his service, and to represent to him their common interest.

Antony was then returned to Alexandria, and upon the first news of Sextus's motions, he had sent Titius with orders to take all the sea and land forces of Syria; and make war against the sugitive general, if he remained still in arms; or, if he consented to lay them down, to make an agreement with him, and conduct him honourably into Egypt. In the mean time the Triumvir listen'd to the deputies of Sextus, whose speeches were very artful, and well adapted to the circumstances of the times.

They put Antony in mind of the advances which their chief, in the height of his prosperity, had made to him, and the confidence which he had always placed in his frankness, candour, and noble courage, to which they opposed the diffimulation, treachery, and artifice of Octavius. They awakened his jealoufy against his young colleague, who had taken possession of the spoils of Sextus and Lepidus, without allowing him any flare. They made him look upon him as a rival, with whom a war must become inevitable, and that in a short time; because Antony was the only obstacle which retarded his boundless ambition, and hindered him from becoming mafter of the whole universe. They finished their speeches, by protesting to him, that Sextus defired only to ferve him with his person and troops, whose fidelity could never be flaken by his miffortunes. "Thus, faid they, if you have " peace,

peace, it will be an honour to you to re- AIR, Fig.

you must go to war, which you may ex-

so pect very foon, he will be an ufeful friend Hight fuccels betore the arrival control

Antony answer'd them by declaring! that the orders he had fent to Thins would from discovers whether he was really of those sentiments as the deputies reprefented film.

Thus we fee that Antony did not trust greatly to the promises of this disgraced, but always ambitious General; and at that very time, there happened an incident which rendered them ftill more fulpicious; for the officers brought to him those which Sextus had difpatched towards the Parthians, who in the course of their journey had been known and ftopt. Antony was fo fimple, and eafily limon a flight occasion, that he even admitted of the excuses of Sextis's agents, who represented to him, that the melancholy fituation which their chief was in at that time, and uncertain as he was of the dispositions of Antony, it was not at all furprising, that he should try lefources in some measure desperate; but that as foon as he should be acquainted with the Triumvir's good intentions, he would not fail of conforming himself to them. Antony was satisfied with these excuses, and waited for the confirmation of what they had laid.

But the confequences were quite contrary to those fine promises. When once a person has talted of absolute authority, it is very difficult for him to floop to any other, and the recond rank will be diffagreeable to him who has been accustomed to the first. Sextus pushed

A. R. 717 pushed the project of continuing himself the Ant. C. 35. chief of the party as far as he could, and of raising an independent establishment to himself in prejudice of Antony. He had even some flight fuccess before the arrival of Titius. Furnius, who commanded in Asia, had few forces on foot; and tho' he had called to his affiftance Domitius Ahenobarbus, and Amyntas, whom Antony had made king of the Galatians, Sextus had the advantage over all the three. He furprised their camp, and render'd himself master of several considerable towns, as Lampfacus, Nicea, and Nicomedia. This glimple of good fortune increased his courage the more, as it greatly augmented the number of his partizans. The people, burdened with very heavy taxes, looked upon him, in a manner, as their deliverer; they contended who should list themselves fastest under his standards, so that he soon faw himself master of three legions, and two hundred horse. But Titius arriving with a fleet of fix fcore fail, having on board a great number of land forces; and at the fame time Furnius having received the feventy vessels which Octavius, victorious in Sicily, had fent back to Antony, his fortune changed all on a fudden, and Sextus feeing no other refource, than to penetrate if possible into the higher Asia, burnt his little squadron, which became useless to him against forces so vastly superior, and converted the rowers and failors into foldiers.

This was a desperate shift. And on this occasion, that unfortunate chief saw himself deserted by those illustrious friends who had remain'd with him, the most conspicuous of whom in history is Cassius of Parma; and

bochug

even

even his father-in-law, Scribonius Libo, went A. R. 717.

to feek for fecurity in the camp of Antony's lieutenants. As for Sextus, he perfifted in his resolution of trying every thing, rather than submitting, and determined to march through Bithynia, with a design, as was imagined, to gain Armenia, the king of which, as we have seen, had great reason to distrust Antony. Titius and Furnius united with Amyntas, intercepted his march by fatiguing his troops, salling upon his rear, taking prisoners the foragers, and reducing him to the want of both water and provisions. At last they obliged him to demand an interview, in order to treat of an accommodation.

Titius was fuspected by him, and not at all agreeable to him, because having formerly been protected by him in Sicily, and return'd to Rome by means of his favour, and in virtue of the treaty of Misenum, he had nevertheless taken a commission to make war against him. Sextus looked upon him then as an ungrateful and faithless man, and for that reason he would not confer with him, but with Furnius.

Furnius having presented himself, Sextus demanded as the only terms, that he might give himself up to him, with a promise, that he should be safely conducted to Antony. Furnius refused it, alledging, that Titius alone was intrusted with Antony's orders, and that consequently it was to him, that Sextus must deliver himself. But he had an invincible aversion to the person of Titius, and he offered to deliver himself up to Amyntas. This new proposition being rejected by them, he broke off the conference. Next night he fled from his enemy, leaving the fires lighted in his Vol. XV.

A. R. 117 camp to conceal his flight. He directed his course towards the sea, and had formed the desperate resolution of burning Titius's fleet but a deferter of note; call'd Scaurus, came to inform Antony's lieutenants of the rout which Sextus had taken; and Amyntas detached with fifteen hundred borfe, foon overtook the fugitive general, who was without cavalry. At the approach of Amyntas, all those who accompanied Sextus left him, and that unfortunate general, without any hopes or refource, and ready to fee himfelf left quite alone, furrendered without terms to the Galatian prince, who gave him over to Titius. This happened near the town of Mideum in Phrygia. Titius caused his prisoner to be conducted to Miletum, to expect Antony's orders. of plansages.

It is certain that Sextus was kill'd there foon after, but it is doubtful what share Antony had in the murder. According to fome, the Triumvir, in the first heat of his passion, order'd Sextus to be kill'd, but afterwards relenting, he fent a counter-order, which was carried with fuch expedition that it arrived first. So that the order which condemned Sextus to die, coming to hand last. Titius conflou'd it, or at least chose to construe it, as the last resolution of Antony, and put it in execution. Others throw the whole blame upon Plancus, who had the power of dispatching orders in Antony's name, figning them for him, and fealing them with his feal. But the truth difcovers itself thro' all those veils; for it can hardly be doubted, but that Antony must be very glad to get rid of Sextus. But as nothing could be more odious, than to kill in cold blood the last fon of Pompey, he was very . .. glad CHIES I

glad to let the blame of it tall upon his lieute-Ant. C. 35.

nant. If what fome fay be true, he did not chufe to spare him, because he was made to apprehend finding a rival in his prisoner, whose name was formerly so dear to Cleopatra. In the mean time I can hardly believe that Antony would have determined to cause Sextus to be put to death, if he could only have taken a resolution suitable to the situation of his affairs. But a fugitive, and ruined, his conduct was wavering between that of a general and a supplicant; for sometimes being obstinate in supplicant; for sometimes being obstinate in supplicant; for sank, and at other times reduced humbly to ask his life, he seemed to be a dangerous man, and not at all to be trusted.

Sextus Pompeius died in the fortieth year of his age, after a life always disquieted, hurried, and exposed to a thousand dangers. He owed to the glory of his father, both his honours and misfortunes. He had more courage than prudence, and more ambition than art and good conduct. A chief of robbers, and afterwards of pyrates; ruftick and unpolite in his speech and behaviour, and govern'd by the lowest of men, he furnished ample fubject of reproach to the writers, who wanted to make their court to the Triumviri. There are two things, however, which will ever render him praise-worthy; his fidelity in the treaty of Misenum, and the generosity. which he shewed in protecting the proscribed.

Octavius caused great honours to be decreed Honours deto Antony, on account of the death of Sextus, creed to Antony,

and

Dum inter ducem & vitam precatur, à M. Titio, supplicem tumultuatur, & justu M. Antonii, jugulatus nunc dignitatem retinet, nunc est. Vell. II. 79.

CORNIFICIUS and POMPEIUS, Confuls, 256

A. R. 717 and celebrated games in the Circus, in teftimony of publick rejoicings. He had certainly very good reason to rejoice, to see that house, which was an enemy to his, exterminated. I question, however, if the people were fincere in their joy, for the name of Pompey was still respected and beloved by the Romans; and Titius, murderer of Sextus, when he'returned to Rome, having celebrated games in the theatre of Pompey, was loaded with imprecations, and obliged ignominiously to leave the shew which he had been at the expence porting his range and at scher times reducible

> By the death of Sextus Pompeius, Cæfar's party, which had been a long time triumphant, fubfifted quite alone, and there remain'd no more for Octavius and Antony to do, after having overcome all their enemies, but to turn their arms against one another, in order to decide which of the two should remain master of the empire. This was the great object which they had always in view, especially Octavius, whose ambition was not diverted by any other passion. There passed, however, some years before it came to an open rupture betwixt them; and I shall finish this book, by placing here those facts, which were foreign to the great event that concluded the civil wars, that fo I may be at more liberty to confine myfelf entirely to it, without mixing other things to divert thereader's attention. song ni beweith an acide

a Octavina mark a prear hunours to be decreed DETACHED OCCURRENCES, VAOIDA ...

The wars of Octavius in Illyrium.

Whilft Antony was divided between his foolish love for Cleopatra, and his chimerical projects against the Parthians, Octavius kept ftill. MES

is gua

fill his troops in exercise, by wars more properly adapted to keep up the valour of his foldiers, than to add to the real glory of his arms. He even took a pride, after having always 'till that time employed their force against their fellow citizens, to make a more innocent use of them against strangers, for Appian. which the nations in Illyrium presented him Illyr. Dio. with an opportunity. Since the war between Cæsar and Pompey they had never been at rest, and the Japodes had made recent incursions as far as Aquilia, and pillaged Triefte, a Roman colony. He resolved therefore to chastise these reftless people, and to bring them back to their duty. But when he prepared to march against them, a fedition ftopt him for some time.

The old foldiers who had mutinied in Sicily, as I have already mentioned, complained that they had never yet received the rewards for their fervices, and they demanded at least an opportunity of meriting them by new labours, and taking up their military profession again under his colours. As their complaints were not without foundation, he gave fatisfaction to a number of them, by affigning them fettlements in Cifalpine Gaul. But this distinction having only augmented the jealoufy of the reft, he made use of severity. He fent some of them to be punished, and disarmed them all; and would not forgive them, till he had reduced them to have recourse to the most humble intreaties. Then, having established the authority of the supreme command, and fearing, lest if he was obstinate in checking them, they would go over to Antony, he admitted them amongst his troops, and accepted their the enemy four flying pridges, all a service.

He then departed for the war in Illyrium, and carried his victorious arms fuccessively against the Japodes, the Panonians, and the Dalmatians. As I do not think that the accounts of this expedition are interesting enough to merit a particular description, I shall only obferve, that Octavius behaved himfelf gallantly on more occasions than one, and refuted, by a bravery which is above all centure, those unevery of Oc- just fuspicions of cowardice which were thrown upon him by Antony, and the impression of which is not quite obliterated even at this color vi rie reloived therefore to challife tyso

fonal bratavius.

12. Suet. Aug. c. 20. Appian. Dio.

Flor. IV. Thus in a time of furprife, when he was fuddenly attacked by the enemy, had the difficulty of the road to overcome besides, and to mount a rough, fleep declivity, full of trees and brambles; observing that his troops did not advance brilkly, he took a buckler from one of the foldiers, and running to the front ranks, animated them by his example, and repulled the Barbarians.

In another engagement he received a blow of a stone on his right knee, which hart him very much, and disabled him from acting for

mores in Ciliffing Saul

feveral days.

But he fignalized his valour no where more remarkably, than at the fiege of Metulum, the capital of the Japodes. The place was naturally strong, and to obstinately defended by the inhabitants, that after the wall was broke down, they built a new one, and formed a fecond fortification, which obliged Octavius to begin his operations anew. He raifed terraffes, and built upon them towers, from which they were to throw over to the walls of the enemy four flying bridges, all at a time. This

and the

This was executed in a hurry, and three of the bridges broke, fo that none of them durft venture themselves upon the fourth. Then Octavius, who examined all that passed from the top of a high tower, came down in great hafte, exhorted the discouraged soldiers very warmly, and not being able to rouse their courage by words, he mounted the bridge himself, and advanced towards the wall, holding a buckler before him. Agrippa, two other general officers, and a domestick attended him; and they were presently followed by such a great number of foldiers, that the bridge broke under them, like the three first, and all those who were upon it fell down with great violence. Several of them were killed, and a great many very much bruifed, and amongst the rest Octavius, who was wounded in the right leg, and both his arms. However, supporting himself against this proublesome accident by his prefence of mind, he immediately mounted again upon the top of the tower, and prefented hims felf both to the view of his own people and of the enemy, in order to prevent the former from being discouraged, and check the infolence of the latter.

After fuch proofs of valour, he had a good right to demand the same of his troops, and punish cowardice severely. Wherefore a Cohort having behaved ill, and fled before the enemy, he decimated them, and caused to be distributed to those foldiers, whose good fortune had faved them, barley inflead of wheat, du-

ring the whole campaign.

This war, in which I do not find any person of note to have been kill'd, excepting Menas, that perfidious freedman of Sextus, employ d Aa4 Octavius Octavius during three years, and was not terminated till the year of Rome 719, when the Barbarians submitted, gave hostages, restored the colours which they had formerly taken from Gabinius and Vatinius, and engaged to pay the tribute imposed by the conqueror.

Octavius besides subdued, by means of his lieutenants, other nations, who were either ill subjected, or had never been under the Roman

power.

The Salaffi subdued by Valerius. Freinshem CXXXI. 37, 38.

At the same time that Octavius made war in Illyrium, * Messala, who was charged by him to suppress the Salassi, subdued that nation, which inhabited the country now called the Val d' Aonste. They had a long time been troublesome to the Roman generals, whose intestine divisions gave them more important business, than that of reducing the Barbarians canton'd in the mountains. But as foon as they had leifure to think of them, they were presently forced to submit, and accept what laws the generals thought proper to impose, a sair noque

The exploits of M. Crassus against the Mysians, the Bastarnæ, and other nations borderagainst the ing upon the Danube, towards Thrace, happened some + years later than those above mention'd, and in placing them here, I follow

The exploits of M. Craffus Myfians and the Baftarna.

"Tis from the authority of Appian and Dio, that I have attributed the victory over the Salaffi to Meffala. I am, bowever, in some doubt about it, founded on the filence of Tibullus, who in bis Panegyric upon Meffala, when he gives a lift of the warlike exploits of bis bere, does not name the

CHVIUS

dued by bim. Strabo lib. IV. Says, that Meffala quartered one winter in their neighbourbood. But far from bonouring him with any advantage gained over them, be affures us, that he was obliged to purchase wood of them, for fire and military ufes.

+ Dio makes mention of it Salaffi, among the people sub- under the year of Rome 723.

the order which the nature of the facts point out, and not the order of time. It is very well known, how fierce and warlike the nations inhabiting these countries have always been. Craffus opposed to their boldness an uncommon bravery, of which he gave an example, in killing with his own hand in battle, Deldon

king of the Bastarnæ.

He merited by this action, the honour of the spoil called Opima. But whether it was, that his quality of simple lieutenant of Octavius excluded him from it, because they thought that those spoils could not be acquired but by the commander in chief, or that Octavius would not willingly fee his fubaltern advanced in some measure above him, by an honour which was very fingular, and of which the whole Roman Hiftory could only furnish three examples, it is certain that Craffus obtained no other rewards, than those which were granted in common to victorious officers, viz. the title of *Imperator, a Supplication and a triumph. He was the fon of the famous Craffus, whom we have had occasion to mention more than once.

I pass lightly over those facts which are here obscured by a number of others more remarkable, and shall only make mention of two more, which Florus has furnished us and in percentagate one entirely burdened this.

While the Roman army was ranged in order of battle, opposite to that of the Mysians, one of the principal commanders of the Barbarians

patied without any edile

advanced.

Dio Jeems to question bonour bas been granted to the title of Imperator being private persons even under given to Crassus. But this Tiberius.

advanced, and cried with a loud voice, Who are you? He was answered, We are the Romans, masters of all nations. Before you can assume this title, replied the audacious Myfian, you must

first conquer us miled was or belogge willer

This boldness seem'd to promise a vigorous reliftance. But for all that, a more bugbear (which is the fecond fact I promifed to mention) disconcerted the Mysians, and made them sly immediately. A Roman centinel took it into his head, to put upon his helmet a pan of coals lighted, and flaming. He advanced thus towards the enemy, and the motion of his body augmenting the flames as it were by jerks, the credulous Barbarians imagined they had to do with a monster which vomited fire. All their courage could not support them against this object, which was scarce capable of frightening a child. and many set it godgment somi

These were the military exploits of Octavius and his lieutenants, from the defeat of Sextus Pompeius till the death of Amony. The affairs of the city between these two epocha's, furnished also some remarkable events, the most important of which was the edileship of

spale lightly over unote facts w

Agrippa.

The edile-Ship of Agrippa.

All the offices had loft their glory and fplendour under the triumviral government, which absorbed entirely the publick power; and in particular the edileship, burdened with prodigious expences on account of the games, which they were obliged so exhibit to the * Year of people, fell into fuch discredit, that one Rome 716. year passed without any ediles, because no body would have a title without power, and fo expensive. Agrippa undertook to recover the dignity of this magistracy by taking it on himfelf *:

relif*; and the had been Conful, he did * Year of not disclain a place which was greatly inferior, Rome 719. being persuaded that he should lase nothing by it, and the office would gain by it. Besides the office of edile, which either regarded the embeldishments and conveniences of the city, or the pleasures of the multitude, was perfectly agreeable to that zeal which Agrippa had to reconcile, more and more, the hearts of the citizens to the young Triumvir, his general and protector.

This he fully effected with great magni- Frienshem ficence. First by the publick edifices, which exxxi. 51, he repaired or built anew. He repaired the 52.

ancient Aqueducts, which were almost fallen to ruin, and conducted a new one, to which he gave the name of Julius, for the space of fifteen miles, or five leagues. In order to render commodious, and accessible, the waters which he conducted, or distributed to the city, he made feven hundred water-places, one hundred and five fountains, and one hundred and thirty refervoirs. So that there was fearcely a house in Rome that had not water in abundance; and all those works were adom'd richly, and with tafte. They recken befides, three hundred statues of Marble or Brass, and four hundred marble columns. Agrippa was fo fond of embellishing the town, and all the places deftined for publick use, that he wanted to have dedicated to that use all the statues and pictures in Rome. He pronounced a freech upon this fubject, which was Itill

ortw.

preserved

Fxstat ejus (Agrippæ) quod fieri satius suisset, quam oratio magnifica & maximo in villarum exfilia pelli. civium digna, de tabulis omnibus fignisque publicandis :

preserved in the time of the elder Pliny; and to which this writer, charmed with so noble a project, gives the epithet of magnificent and truly worthy of the greatest of citizens. And certainly that was a much properer destination for those master pieces of art, than placing them in the gardens of country houses, be-

longing to private persons.

Every body knows the magnificence of the common fewers in Rome, built by the two Tarquins. These by being neglected were filled with nastiness, and stopped up in several places. Agrippa made so large a collection of water, that it formed, as it were, seven torrents, which being let in by the openings of the sewers, and running with rapidity, carried off all the filth which had there been heaped up; and after this operation he embarked himself upon the sewers, which had been thus cleansed, and by a subterraneous navigation, went from one end to the other, to their opening into the Tiber.

The fecond object of Agrippa in his edileship, regarded the games and presents bestowed on the people. It is aftonishing with what magnificence he acquitted himself of this part of his office. Shews of all kinds, plays, fighting of gladiators, courses in the Circus for the space of nine and fifty days; and during all that time, barbers and bath-keepers paid at his expence for the use of the citizens; an hundred and feventy baths kept open and in order at his expence, during the whole year; and provisions of all kinds purchas'd from the merchants, to be deliver'd as plunder to the people. In short, in the theatre he threw down a kind of lottery tickets, and those who L'orcierved

who brought them to him received the contents; that is to fay, of money, stuffs, moveables and other fuch things. He likewife adorned the Circus with statues of Dolphins, and what they called eggs; that is, very large masses shaped in form of an egg, and placed upon the pillars which were fituated at the end of the course, and discovering themselves at a distance, directed the charioteers in their career, and marked out the place where they were to turn.

Among the shews given by Agrippa, that of the course, which the Romans call'd Trojan, deserves to be remarked. This diversion, as they alledged, came to them from Troy, and consequently, particularly interested Octavius. who boafted his origin from that famous city. It was for this, that Virgil has inferted in his fifth Æneid, a charming description of that exercife. It was performed by young perfons of quality, and Agrippa engaged the Senators to confent that their children should begin to make themselves known there, to draw upon them the attention of the citizens.

These concerns, which seemed frivolous, and only calculated for pleasure, had nevertheless a serious effect, which was to make the government of Octavius to be beloved; and Agrippa was no less serviceable to his patron by these amusements, than by the exact policy which he caused to be observed in the city. He banished out of it astrologers and magicians, those publick plagues, which eafily impose upon the credulous multitude, and breed uneafiness in the state as well as in families. Thus Agrippa, who was a skilful warrior, shewed himself also a very great magistrate:

DETACHED OCCURRENCES.

magistrate; superior by these universal talents to Mæcenas, who, tho' he had some turn to military operations, yet made no great figure. except in the administration of civil affairs.

friends, confidents, and mini-Aers of Octavius. Dio. l. LI.

Agrippa I hele two were the plan had a perfect con-These two were the principal instruments of fidence in them; and as by way of feal, he made use of two stones engraved, with the reprefentation of a Sphinx on each of them, and exactly alike, he kept one of them, and left the other at their disposal; so that they might write and order in his name whatever they judged agreeable. When he wrote him felf to the Senate, his dispatches were first fent to them. They opened them, read them, and made what alterations they pleafed, and afterward fealed them and fent them to the Senate.

> It was to Mæcenas chiefly, that the affairs of the city and Italy were particularly intrusted. Tho' by a modesty, I do not know whether real or affected, he never would be advanced above the rank of a simple knight, tho' he could easily have arrived at the highest dignities of the Republick. He had, hows ever, more real power than the principal Senators, and those of consular authority. He was, during several years, Presect of Rome, and by the authority of this office, which was created on purpose for him, he maintain'd a calm and peace in the capital, and in all Italy in the most boisterous times, and in spite of the discontent of the people, who were frequently loaded by his orders with taxes, which were very heavy, but necessary to support the vast expence of the war.

Every thing that belonged to Octavius shewed the splendour of his fortune. Thus

his fifter and his wife were honoured with Statues flatues by a decree of the Senate; and with ereded to the spoils which were acquired in the war Livia and Octavia. against the Dalmatians, he caused to be built a The Por-Portico, to which he gave the name of his tico of Ocfifter Octavia, and there he afterwards placed tavia. a very rich library. Some authors, however, 1. XLIX. give the honour of this library to Octavia her-Plut. felf, who wanted to confecrate by this monu- Marcel. ment the name of her fon Marcellus.

During this time there were celebrated feve- The triral triumphs by particular generals. The most umphs of memorable, and most justly deserved, were Jaurus and those of Statilius Taurus, and Sosius. The Sosius. one had quieted Africa after the difgrace of Lepidus, and the other had conquered the

Jews, and taken Jerusalem.

Octavius, according to Cæfar's example, New Pacreated at this time new Patricians, to replace tricians. the antient families of the same rank, who perished in the civil wars, and were daily de-

crealing.

Though Atticus had always lived as a pri- The death vate man, without having ever poffess'd any of Atticus. office, yet the rank which his wit, virtue, and Corn.
the wildom of his conduct gain'd him in the Vit. At. efteem of the publick, and of the first persons in the Roman empire, make his character, in every respect, worthy of commendation, and his death deferving a place in this History.

He was, as we have already observ'd, a friend to Antony; and he had shewn it in the most critical circumstances, in consequence of which, his name was blotted out of the lift of these proscribed by the Triumvir. Antony did still more, for he procured for him an illustrious allience, and laboured effectually in bringing

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bringing about a marriage, between Agrippal and his daughter. From this marriage fprung Vipfania Agrippina, who, when fcarcely a year old, was promifed to Tiberius, fon-in-law to Octavius. Thus Atticus faw his family nearly sice of the allied to the house of the Cæsars. with the

Keeping always faithful to this maxim, never to engage in the quarrels of the great, and to cultivate with them particular connections, he preserved to himself the friendship of both Octavius and Antony, who equally gave him the most distinguished and constant testimonies

of the greatest esteem and regard. destonists

The year which preceded their rupture, he was attacked with a fiftula, for which he tried all the remedies then known, which only exasperated the disease. Being quite weary of fuffering, he took up a resolution of starving himself to death, which he discoverd to his fon-in-law, whose tears and intreaties had no effect to prevent it. After he had abstained from eating for two days, the fever left hime and he found himself better. But the thing was determin'd on, and he was obstinate in dying. Like a true Epicurean, he looked upon al devi pain as the fovereign evil, and did not think it too much to purchase a deliverance from it, by facrificing the remains of a languishing life.

He died at the age of feventy feven, under the Confulship of Domitius and Sosius; and was a very fingular man, having made a figure without office and superior talents; beloved of all the great, keeping himself always in a middle station, and behaving himself so equally amongst all parties, that he merited the friendfhip, even of those opposite chiefs, who made the most cruel wars against one another.

There

There remains no more for me to do at pre-Succession fent, but to add to the succession of the Con- of the Confuls for these years, some particular remarks, sullip from which if placed elsewhere would interrupt the 718, to the thread of the narration.

year 721.

At the time of the treaty of Misenum be- Appian. tween the Triumviri and Sextus Pompeius, all Civil. Lv. the Confulships for these years had been disposed of beforehand. It had been faid, that in the year of Rome 718, Antony would take upon him the Confulship a second time with Libo, father-in-law of Sextus; that in the year 719, Octavius would be Conful the fecond time with Sextus himself; in the year 720, Domitius Ahenobarbus and Sosius; and last of all in 721, Antony and Octavius, who being then Confuls for the third time, would reestablish the antient government. This plan of the Confulship was accordingly followed; only Sextus Pompeius, being killed before the year of his Confulship arrived, they substituted in his room L. Volutius Tullus; and likewise Antony was deprived of his third Confulship, on account of the war which broke out between him and Octavius. Meffala supplied his place, and was colleague to Octavius when he was Conful for the third time. With regard to the fecond Confulship appointed to each of the two Triumviri, neither of them chose any thing more than the title, and they refigned it the very day they had taken possession of it. The triumviral power was abundantly fufficient for them; and the Confulship, reduced to an empty title, was entirely useless.

I do not talk of the Confuls substituted each year to those who had begun it. We have no exact lift of them, and it would be of little

ВЬ

use to have them, with regard to the great events of the History, in which they can hard-

ly be faid to have any fhare.

But I ought not to omit observing here, that the five years of the second Triumvirship of Antony and Octavius expired the last of December, in the year 719, and that nevertheless, at the time of the treaty of Misenum, they had disposed of the Consulship for two years longer; which is a proof that their plan was to continue this tyrannical power, by renewing it as often as they should see occasion, and they were very sure of the suffrages of the people, whom they kept in subjection by the force of arms.

mind of washing the bus sucraft it y thee Confuls for the third cine would teellablife the surient government. This plan of the Cohlaithip was accordingly followed: only Sextua Poinnelus, being killed before the year of his Confulfree arrived, they tubilituted in his toornel., Voluntes Tulies; and likewife Antony was deprived of his third Confulfair, on account of the war which broke out beand by The End of the fifteenth Volume. I now piace, and was colleague to Octavius when he was Could for the third time. Wen regard to the decord Confulfing appointed to each of the two Triumviri, neather of them chose any thing more than the title, and they refigned it the very day they had taken postession of it. The triducyinal power was abundantly fufficient for them; and the Confulfnip, reduced to an chipty title, was enough utelefs. I do not talk of the Confuls subdicated each year to thole who had begun it. We have no exact lift of them, and it would be of little 2)17

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